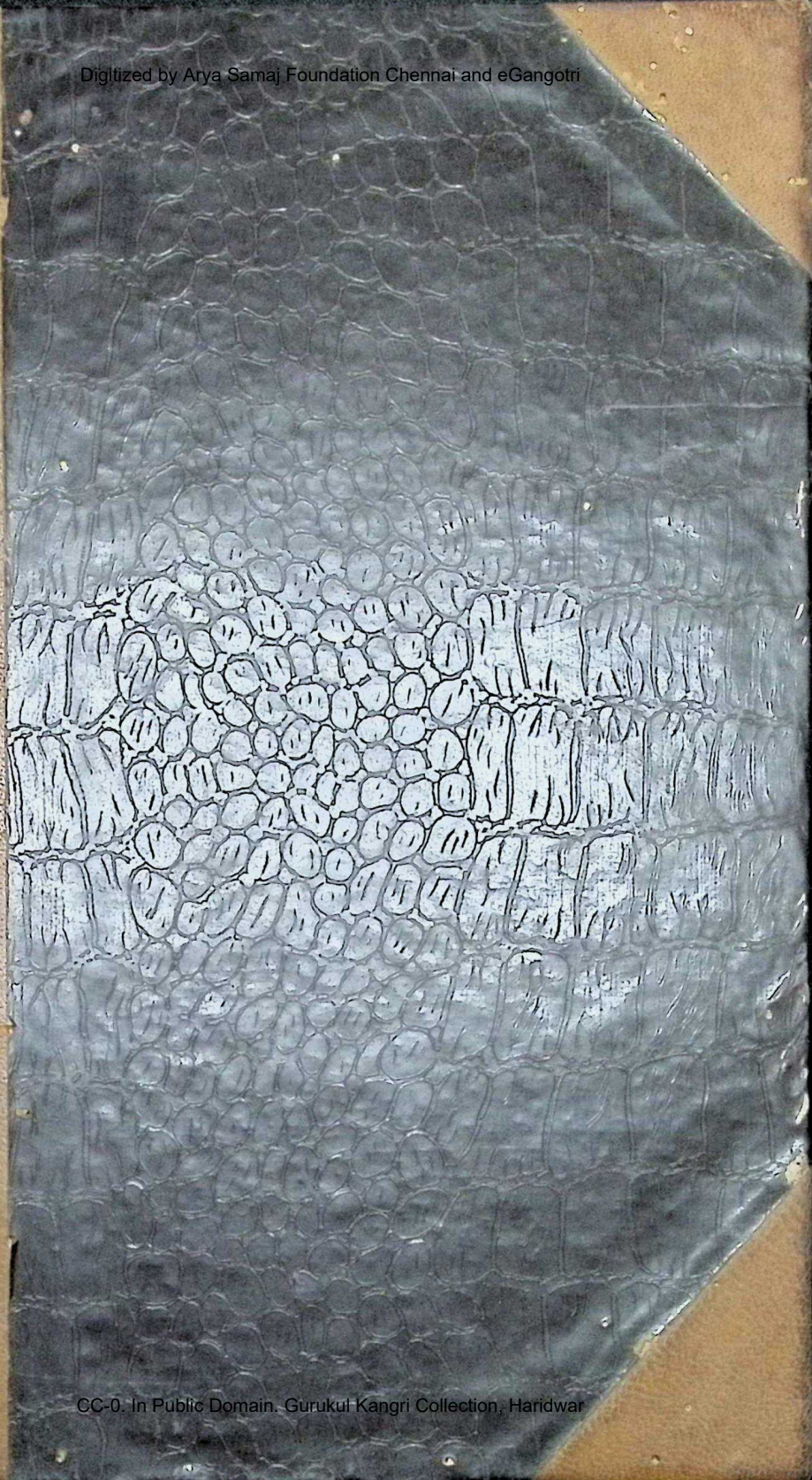






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AWAKENING



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LET MY COUNTRY AWAKE

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow
domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary
desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought
and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

—Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941)
Gitanjali

The Awakening

Monthly Journal of the Lok Sevak Sangh, a non-party, non-power seeking organisation of voluntary constructive workers, constituted by Servants of the People Society, Delhi Branch, and dedicated to the service of the Indian people.

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I am in earnest. I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retreat an inch—and I will be heard.

—William Lloyd Garrison

Letter from the Editor

That Picture and This

New Delhi
April 5, 1981

Dear Reader,

On the 23rd March, 1981, the Capital observed the 50th martyrdom day of Bhagat Singh, Rajguru and Sukhdev. They were secretly hanged at 7.33 P.M. on 23rd March, 1931 under orders of the British Government at Lahore prison, their bodies stealthily removed in the dark of the night and cremated at Hussainiwala headworks, Ferozepore. They were all young; Bhagat Singh was only 23. There is now a Samadhi at that hallowed spot; it was rebuilt after the earlier one had been destroyed during the Indo-Pak war.

The main function which I had the privilege to attend along with other freedom fighters of my generation participating in the 1942 Quit India movement, was held at Ferozeshah Kotla grounds where Bhagat Singh and his revolutionary colleagues had laid the foundation of the Hindustan Socialist Republican Army in the late twenties.

On this occasion the National Archives of India arranged a special exhibition of documents pertaining to the martyrdom of Bhagat Singh, highlighting also the Assembly Bomb Case in which the British Sessions Judge at Delhi, Mr Middleton had sentenced Bhagat Singh and his colleague, Batukeshwar Dutta, to transportation for life. By kind permission of the National Archives, we are reproducing, elsewhere in this issue, 'The Statement of the Accused' under their original signatures and without expunging the portions ordered to be expunged by the Sessions Judge. I invite your attention particularly to the last two paragraphs of this historical document which shows that the revolutionaries were not just young reckless terrorists but had a clear

vision of the egalitarian society they wanted to build in India, free from social injustice and economic exploitation.

At that exhibition I had also the good fortune to meet Bhagat Singh's next younger brother, Kulbir Singh who now stays at Faridabad near Delhi. He was first arrested when he was only 12. In 1940-41, I had the privilege of inviting Shri B.K. Dutta at my residence at Kanpur along with Shri Bijoy Kumar Sinha who was in Lahore jail along with Bhagat Singh. He had been sentenced to transportation for life narrowly escaping the gallows. Even after a decade of incarceration at the Andamans they were broken in health but not in spirit. I bowed low before them. Their sacrifice, as indeed that of thousands of other revolutionaries who laid down their lives at the altar of India's freedom, will continue to inspire the coming generations for all time to come.

Then came 1947 and we were free from the British yoke. During these 33 years a great deal of work has been done in our country—improved agriculture, advancement in industry, new centres of higher education in arts, science and technology, river valley projects and dams, air services, Pokhran, Rohini, etc. But, alas, something is missing from the scene. As Mr Palkhivala says in his lecture, herein reproduced elsewhere, we are still among the 15 poorest countries of the World. The common man is not happy. There is frustration all round. Corruption has increased like a cancerous growth and, what is more distressing, corruption has become a way of life and is fast gaining social acceptance. There are lakhs of unemployed educated young men, their numbers swelling every year; they don't know where to turn for help and what to do with their lives. Economic disparity has increased. With the population explosion, a few crore Indians sink below the poverty line every year. There are more dowry deaths, more rapes, more financial scandals and more police atrocities.

The greatest tragedy in free India has been the steep moral decline of our politicians and political parties. Our politicians, deeply respected for their sacrifices before 1947, are now held in utter contempt for their unscrupulous pursuit of power and often of money. Their moral credibility is gone. The shell of political democracy is intact but it can crack any time.

The M.P.s or M.L.A.s do not realise that if they file false election returns they will never be able to prevent businessmen from filing false income tax returns nor their children from copying in examinations. So long as they continue to contest elections with black money they will never be able to prevent black marketing and tax evasion nor the disastrous march of parallel economy. Once the path of moral rectitude is abandoned by political leaders by inducing and rewarding defections and making and unmaking political parties without any principles, the moral fibre of the nation will be destroyed; there will be indiscipline, unrest and agitations in all spheres of life and material gains will turn into dust in our hands.

In that very building where Bhagat Singh and B.K. Dutta threw the bomb on April 8, 1929 to warn the British rulers, now sits the Parliament of free India. We have recently learnt that this costs the exchequer of this poor Nation Rs. 48,000/- an hour and still many of our M.P.s do not find sufficient time to be present in the House to ask their own questions, on which so much time and labour is spent. Some of our M.P.s even sublet their Government quarters to make some side money and this in spite of periodical rise in their pay and perks. A fortnightly Newsmagazine recently said that according to a Finance Ministry source, it costs the Nation, with all our political parties subscribing to socialism, over Rs. 75,000/- per month to maintain a Union Minister and Rs. 50,000/- per month a State Minister Please see details under 'Without Comments' published in this issue.

Bhagat Singh, a Punjabi Sikh, Rajguru, a Maharashtrian, B.K. Dutta, Surya Sen and Khudiram, Bengalis, Ashfaqullah, a Muslim, Ramprasad Bismil from U.P., Chandra Shekhar Azad from central India, struggled for India's freedom with their blood, as children of the same mother. Communalism, casteism, regionalism, linguism and all such divisive and destructive tendencies were foreign to their nature. What do we find now? The wounds of partition have not yet healed and now we have our leaders of the Shromani Gurdwara Prabandhak Committee declaring the Sikhs of India a separate Nation!

Looking at this picture, I must confess, sometimes I tend to lose faith in my leaders and in the future of my country. Yet India is our country and, as its children, we alone can rectify these wrongs. After all one who condemns the country condemns himself. I begin to think

of the gallows at Lahore, the Samadhi at Hussainiwala, the cellular jail at Andamans, the Jallianwala Bagh, the Satyagraha mass movements, the I.N.A. of Netaji. And then the words of Gandhiji begin to find a faint echo in my heart, 'a Satyagrahi knows no defeat' and I return, with a sense of personal accountability and inspite of the cares and anxieties of this work-a-day world, to the performance of my own little part, in the loving service of India while I live. I invite you to do like-wise.

Yours truthfully,
S. D. Sharma

I looked around upon the world, and saw that it was shadowed by sorrow and scorched by the fierce fires of suffering. And I looked for the cause. I looked around, but could not find it; I looked in books, but could not find it; I looked within, and found there both the cause and the self-made nature of that cause. I looked again, and deeper, and found the remedy. I found one Law, the Law of Love; one Life, the Life of Adjustment to that Law; one Truth, the Truth of a conquered mind and a quiet and obedient heart.

—James Allen

In the Court of the Sessions Judge, Delhi

Crown versus Bhagat Singh & B.K. Dutta

Charge S.S. 307 I.P.C. & 3 & 4 Explosive Substances Act.

The written statement of accused Bhagat Singh & B.K. Dutta.

1. We stand charged with serious offences and at this stage we must explain our conduct. The following questions arise ?

(1) Were the bombs thrown into the Assembly Chamber and if so why ?

(2) Is the charge as framed by the Lower Court correct or otherwise ?

2. To the first half of the first question our reply is an affirmative, but some of the so-called "eye-witnesses" have perjured themselves and since we are not denying our liability to the extent and such as it is let our statement about them be judged for what it is worth. By way of illustration we may point out that the evidence of Sergeant Terry regarding the seizure of the pistol from one of us is a deliberate falsehood for neither of us had the pistol at the time we gave ourselves up. Other witnesses who have deposed to having seen the bombs thrown by us have not scrupled to tell lies patent on the face of them. It has its own moral for those who aim at judicial purity and fair-play. At the sametime we acknowledge the fairness of the Public Prosecutor and the judicial attitude of the court so far.

3. In our reply to the next half of the first question we are constrained to go into some detail to offer a full and frank explanation of our motive and the circumstances leading up to what has now become an historic event. When we were told by some of the Police Officers who visited us in jail that Lord Irwin in his address to a joint session

of the two houses after the event in question described it as an attack directed against no individual but against the institution itself, we readily recognised that the true significance of the incident had been correctly appreciated. We are next to none in our love of humanity and so far from having any malice against any individual we hold human life sacred beyond words. We are neither the perpetrators of dastardly outrages and therefore a disgrace to the country (as the pseudo-socialist Diwan Chaman Lal is reported to have described us); nor are we 'lunatics' (as the Tribune of Lahore and some others would have it believed.) We humbly claim to be no more than serious students of the history and conditions of our country and human aspirations and we despise hypocrisy. (Our practical protest was against the institution which since its birth has eminently helped to display not only its worthlessness but its far-reaching power for mischief. The more we have pondered the more deeply we have been convinced that it exists only to demonstrate to the world India's humiliation and helplessness and symbolises the over-riding domination of an irresponsible and autocratic rule. Time and again the National Demand has been pressed by the Peoples' representatives only to find the waste-paper basket as its final destination. Solemn resolutions passed by the House have been contemptuously trampled under foot on the floor of the so called Indian Parliament. Resolutions regarding the repeal of repressive and arbitrary measures have been treated with sublime contempt and Government's measures and proposals rejected as unacceptable by elected members have been restored by a stroke of the pen. In brief, inspite of earnest endeavour we have utterly failed to find any justification for the existence of an institution which despite all the pomp and splendour organized with the hard-earned money of the sweating millions of India is only a hollow show and a mischievous make-believe. And alike have we failed to comprehend the mentality of the public leaders who help to squander public time and money on so manifestly stage-managed an exhibition of India's helpless subjection.) We had been ruminating upon all this, as also upon the wholesale arrests of leaders of the labour movement when the introduction of the Trade Disputes' bill brought us into the Assembly to watch its progress (and the course of the debate only served to confirm our conviction that the labouring millions of India had nothing to expect from an institution that stood as a menacing monument to the strangling power of Exploiters and the serfdom of the helpless labourers. Finally the insult of what we considered an inhuman and

and barbarous measure was hurled on the devoted heads of the representatives of the entire country and the starving and struggling millions were deprived of their primary right and sole means of improving their economic welfare. None who has felt like us for the dumb-driven drudges of labourers could possibly witness this spectacle with equanimity. None whose heart bleeds for those who have given their life-blood in silence to the building up of the economic structure of the Exploiters, of whom the Government happens to be the biggest in this country could repress the cry of soul-agonizing anguish which so ruthless a blow wrung out of our hearts.) Consequently (bearing in mind the words of the late Mr. S.R. Das, once the Law Member of the Governor General's Executive Council, which appeared in the famous letter he had addressed to his son to the effect that a bomb was necessary to awaken England from her dreams,) we dropped the bombs on the floor of the Assembly Chamber to register our protest on behalf of those who had no other means left to give expression to their heart-rending agony. Our sole purpose was "to make the deaf hear", and to give the heedless a timely warning. (Others have as keenly felt as we have done and from under the seeming stillness of the sea of Indian humanity a veritable storm is about to break out.) We have only hoisted the "danger-signal" to warn those who are speeding along without heeding the grave dangers ahead. (We have only marked the end of the era of Utopian non-voilences of whose futility the rising generation has been convinced beyond the shadow of doubt. Out of our sincerest good-will to and love of humanity have we adopted this method of warning to prevent the untold sufferings which we like millions of others clearly foresee.

4. We have used the expression Utopian non-voilence in the foregoing para, which requires some explanation.) Force when aggressively applied is "voilence" and is therefore morally unjustifiable; but when it is used in furtherance of a legitimate cause it has its moral justification. (The elimination of force at all costs is utopian and the new movement which has arisen in the country, and of which we have given the warning, is inspired by the ideals which guided Guru Gobind Singh & Shivaji, Kamal Pasha & Riza Khan, Washington & Garibaldi, Lafayette & Lenin. As both the alien Government and the Indian public leaders appeared to have shut their eyes and closed their ears against the existence and the voice of this movement,) we felt it our duty to sound the warning where it could not go unheard.

5. We have so far dealt with the motive behind the incident in question and now we must define the extent of our intention.

It cannot be gainsaid that we bore no personal grudge or malice against any one of those who received slight injuries or against any other person in the Assembly. On the contrary we repeat that we hold human lives sacred beyond words and would sooner lay down our own lives in the service of humanity than injure any one else. (Unlike the mercenary soldiers of Imperialist Armies who are disciplined to kill without compunction,) we respect and in so far as it lies in us attempt to save human life. And still we admit having deliberately dropped the bombs into the Assembly Chamber! Facts, however, speak for themselves and our intention should be judged from the result of our action without drawing upon hypothetical circumstances and presumptions. Despite the evidence of the Government Expert the bombs that were thrown in the Assembly Chamber resulted in some damage to furniture and a few slight abrasions in less than half a dozen cases. While the Government's Scientist ascribed this result to a miracle, we see nothing but a precisely scientific process in it all. First the two bombs exploded in vacant spaces within wooden barriers of desks and benches. Secondly even those who were within even 2 feet of the explosion (for instance Mr. P.R. Rau, Mr. Shanker Rao and Sir George Schuster) were either not hurt or only slightly scratched. Bombs of the capacity deposed to by the Government Expert (though his estimate being imaginary is exaggerated) loaded with an effective charge of Pt. Chlorate and a sensitive Picrate would have smashed the barriers and laid many low within some yards of the explosion. Again had they been loaded with some other high explosive with a charge of destructive pellets or darts they would have sufficed to wipe out the majority of the members of the Legislative Assembly. Still again we could have flung them into the official-box chokfull of people of note. And finally we could have ambushed Sir John Simon whose luckless commission was loathed by all the responsible people and who was sitting in the President's gallery at the time. All this, however, was beyond our intention and the bombs did no more than they were designed to do and the miracle consisted of no more than the deliberate aim which landed them in safe places. Similarly the pistol was fired in the air but by neither of us.

6. We then deliberately offered ourselves to bear the penalty for what we had done, (and to let the Imperialist exploiters know that by

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crushing individuals they cannot kill ideas. By crushing two insignificant units the nation cannot be crushed. We wanted to emphasise the historical lesson that lettres de Cachets and Bastilles could not crush the Revolutionary movement in France. Gallows and Siberian Mines could not extinguish the Russian revolution. The Bloody Sundays and Black and Tans failed to strangle the movement of Irish freedom. Can ordinances and Safety Bills snuff out the flame of freedom in India ! Conspiracy cases trumped up or discovered and incarceration of all the youngmen who cherish the vision of a greater ideal cannot check the march of the Revolution. But timely warning if not unheeded can help to prevent loss of life and general sufferings). We took it upon ourselves to provide this warning and our duty is done.

(7.I, Bhagat Sigh, was asked in the Lower Court as to what we meant by the word 'Revolution'). In answer to that question, I would say that Revolution does not necessarily involve a sanguinary strife, nor is there any place in it for individual vendetta. It is not the cult of the bomb and the pistol. By Revolution we mean that the present order of things which is based on manifest injustice must change. The producers or the labourers, inspite of being the most necessary element of society are robbed by their exploiter of the fruits of their labour and deprived of their elementary right. On the one hand the peasant who grows corn for all starves with his family; the weaver who supplies world markets with textile fabrics cannot find enough to cover his own and his children's bodies; the masons, the smiths and the carpenters who rear magnificent palaces live and perish in slums; and on the other the capitalist exploiters, the parasites of Society squander millions on their whims. These terrible inequalities, and forced disparity of chances are heading towards chaos. This state of affairs cannot last; and it is obvious that the present order of Society is merry-making on the brink of a volcano and the innocent children of the Exploiters no less than millions of the exploited are walking on the edge of a dangerous precipice. The whole edifice of this civilization, if not saved in time, shall crumble. A radical change, therefore, is necessary; and it is the duty of those who realize this to reorganize Society on the Socialistic basis. Unless this is done and the exploitation of man by man and of nations by nations, which goes masquerading as Imperialism, is brought to an end, the sufferings and carnage with which humanity is threatened today can not be prevented and all talks of ending wars and ushering

in an era of universal peace is undisguised hypocrisy. By revolution we (mean the ultimate establishment of an order of society which may not be threatened by such a break-down, and in which the sovereignty of the Proletariat should be recognised, and as the result of which a world-federation should redeem humanity from the bondage of capitalism and the misery of Imperial wars.

8. This is our ideal; and with this ideology for our inspiration we have given a fair and loud enough warning. If, however, it goes unheeded and the present system of Government continues to be an impediment in the way of the natural forces that are welling up, grim struggle must ensue involving the overthrow of all obstacles, and the establishment of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat to pave the way for the consummation of the ideal of the Revolution.

Revolution is the inalienable right of mankind. Freedom is the imprescriptable birth-right of all. The labourer is the real sustainer of Society. The Sovereignty of the people is the ultimate destiny of the workers.

For these ideals, and for this faith, we shall welcome any suffering to which we may be condemned. To the altar of this revolution we have brought our youth as incense; for no sacrifice is too great for so magnificent a cause.

We are content; we await the advent of the Revolution :

“Long live the Revolution”)

Read over & admitted
in evidence

[Signature]
6/29

[Signature]
Bali Keshwan Lulla

Words & passages marked by brackets with my initials have
been expurgated from the record by my order dated (9-6-1929)

[Signature]
9/29

The Agony of Tibet : 'You Must not Cry'

Mrs. Pema Thonden

One morning in August of 1979 I opened a letter from an old friend and found inside a small and very dirty envelope. In dimly familiar handwriting, it was addressed to the name I was known by as a schoolgirl. It was from my mother in Tibet.

After more than 20 years of silence, during which I did not dare to think about her as living, my mother has suddenly returned to life and was speaking to me through the letter. I had been afraid to write when it first became possible to communicate with relatives inside Tibet, but she had sent this letter to India in the hope that it would reach me. It travelled from place to place, but no one knew me by that name until my old friend found it in a pile of such letters in Dharamsala. My only wish now was to go to Tibet and see her.

Six impatient months later, in mid-June, I arrived in Kathmandu, Nepal, intending to go to Lhasa. There, I found four other Tibetans who were also going to visit their families in Tibet, and we immediately agreed to travel together. I was so close now that the delays, which seemed to multiply daily, were really frustrating. We hired a minibus that had a permit to cross the border and continue on to the Chinese check-post at Dham, but when we arrived in the afternoon at the bridge that marks the border between Nepal and Tibet, the Nepalese officers informed us that they could only check us through in the morning. They locked all our luggage in a room and proceeded to sit in their office doing nothing for the rest of the endless day. We tried to eat the terrible food in one of the shabby little Sherpa inns and we tried to sleep that night and forget our impatience, but the local bed-bugs kept us awake and miserable all night.

It was strange and confusing the next morning, after passing through the Nepalese check-post, as the bus slowly drove across the bridge into Tibet. I felt like jumping out of the bus to feel the Tibetan earth again after 21 years away from it. We were all very quiet in the bus, quite lost in our own thoughts. Suddenly, I heard something shouting from the back, "can't wait to taste Tibetan water again!"

At the Dham check-post a Tibetan doctor checked our blood pressure and we went through customs and the passport office, then we were taken by a Chinese man to a temporary guest house. Tsamcho, the cheerful young Tibetan girl who was the receptionist, told us only one bus come from Lhasa each month and it was scheduled to arrive in two or three days. A week later the bus had still not arrived. We told Tsamcho and the Chinese officers that we couldn't wait any longer, that they must find us some other transportation. They finally agreed to send us by jeep to Shigatse but with no room for our luggage, it would have to follow later by the bus.

The next morning, very excited, we began the long day's drive to Shigatse. Our Chinese driver stopped only once on the way, at a small tea shop in a place called Lhatse. We were able to get tea and some bread for lunch, but there was no food available. A few of us had fortunately brought canned meat, a little of which we shared. (I strongly recommend that future travellers be sure to take a supply of food when travelling through Tibet since we never found any food available when we stopped to eat). On arrival in Shigatse we were told that there would be a three-day wait, again, and that we would be taken to Lhasa by bus on the fourth day.

We went first to visit the Panchen Lama's monastery, Tashi Lhunpo. Accompanied by the two guides that the Shigatse Reception Committee sent with us, we saw a few important temples including the three-storey temple that houses the famous Maitreya Buddha. Most of the temples and monks' quarters were locked up and sadly decayed looking. All were over-run with weeds and some were crumbling into ruins (we found Sera and Drepung in the same condition later). Our guide told us that there were 50 monks living there, but we saw only seven or eight and they all looked to be in their late 60's.

The guest house was only five minutes walk from the town and I could hardly wait to get there. I had wonderful memories of Shigatse

from 20 years ago when my aunt and I and her children stopped there on our way to India. The town was thronged with crowds of people especially the thriving marketplace, which was particularly interested. Unlike Lhasa, most of the Shigatse saleswomen wore very heavy and beautiful Tibetan jewellery, impressive coral headdresses and big gold and silver charm boxes covered with turquoise. In Lhasa, though people dressed very colourfully, women wore their heavy jewellery only on special occasions. I knew it wouldn't look the same, but somehow I had expected to see some liveliness. I was so sad when I got there and found a dilapidated and desolate town with a few really poor looking people on the streets wearing ragged clothes. Hardly better than the beggars I remembered (I later found that Lhasa had been the same until last year). They seemed pleased to see me and my companions, however, and looked as though they wanted to talk to us. But when we walked towards them most of them ran away. One or two asked us quietly how His Holiness the Dalai Lama was and were very happy when we told them He was fine. I also tried to find an old friend who had lived in Shigaste, but when I got to her house it was empty. People were living there who had never heard of her. I later found that she was dead and all her children scattered.

On July 6th, a bus was ready for us. We gladly paid our bills at the guest house, which were only five Re Min Be (Rmb—the Peoples' Currency) per day including food, and climbed onto the bus. I felt excited and fearful at the same time. All along the way to Lhasa I wondered how I would find my family and Lhasa after more than 20 years. It was a hot, bright July day and, at first, I just looked happily at the green fields and bare, snow-peaked mountains. Then I began to look more closely at the groups of earthen houses. I remembered such houses as so white they almost sparkled in the sun. They were all, rich and poor, whitewashed every year on the tenth month. Now I saw they were all brown and rusty looking and falling down. I also remembered the colourful prayer flags that waved from the roof of every Tibetan house. They were changed every year at New Years and new ones were put up for any special occasion. Eventhough we took them for granted, they looked so beautiful waiving in the pure Tibetan air that they always lifted our hearts. All our prayer flags were now gone. Each house had, instead, a small red Chinese flag. We also saw many people out working in the fields and at least half of them were young children from about four to twelve.

Fear & Excitement

As we got closer to Lhasa that afternoon my fear and excitement mounted unbearably. Our cheerful Tibetan bus driver, who sang both Chinese and Tibetan songs and told jokes between songs, had stopped once for lunch at Namkhang-tse, a small town. Again, no food was available for lunch. Only bread and tea that was syrupy with too much sugar. But I couldn't eat or drink anyway. Soon we caught sight of Drepung Monastery, the largest in Tibet. It was still standing, but even at a distance we could feel its emptiness and lifelessness. Then, suddenly, we saw the Potala palace, its golden roofs glittering against the evening sun, far off to our right. And before we could overcome our emotion the bus pulled to a stop in a bus station near Shol, the town at the base of the Potala palace.

I looked around to see if I could recognize anyone. Someone with a bicycle came near the bus window and I realized that he was my brother-in-law. I could recognize him from a family picture enclosed in one of the recent letters. He greeted me and said, "Your brother is here," pointing at a man standing near him. My brother looked quite different from the picture. He had a sad look on his face. He smiled at me and said, "Achela," which means sister. He was only eleven years old and my sister was seven when I last saw them. I tried to get out of the bus, but I couldn't move. Finally, when I got out of the bus, he put a white scarf around my neck and put his arms around me. He didn't say much, he was quite as speechless as I was numb. I could see the tears in his eyes, but he held them back and helped me organize myself as I was then crying like a child. I asked him how mother and the rest of the relatives were. He said they were all fine and waiting for me at home.

When I was in Dham and Shigatse I had sent them two telegrams with my tentative arrival date in Lhasa. They had received only one, and my brother said that they had been waiting for me at the bus station for three days. Each time they came they brought Tibetan Tea in a big Chinese thermos, Tibetan cookies and each person brought a white scarf to give me a big welcome. As we started to walk home I saw an older man hurrying towards us. My brother told me he was our uncle, my mother's younger brother, but I couldn't recognize him. Only when he put a scarf around my neck and spoke to me could I be sure

he was my uncle." He had been released last year after 18 years in prison.

When I reached my mother's place my aunt came first, running towards me with a scarf, and behind her was my mother looking old and hunched. My mother and my aunt each took one of my hands and led me inside a small room completely filled with relatives who had been waiting there for me. Then the tears really came. For me, the shock of seeing how the years of starvation and fear and heavy labour had ravaged my family (and, in fact, almost every single person I saw in Lhasa during my stay) was almost greater than my joy at being reunited. My mother's younger sister, only 51, looked like she was in her 70's. She had been released a few weeks before my arrival, after nine years in prison and looked much, much worse than my mother. The first thing I noticed was that everyone's teeth were ruined, even young people in their 20's. Many had only two or three teeth left, and no way to replace them.

I asked first about my stepfather. My own father had died when I was very young and I was brought up by my stepfather, who I knew and loved as a father. My mother had written me that he was dead, and now they told me he died. He had been arrested in 1959 after the uprising and held for a year in Norbu Lingka, then sent with 85 men to a hard labour camp near the Chinese border in 1960. After three years 22 men returned. The rest had died of starvation. The men had to do back breaking work all day, followed by nightly reduction and criticism meeting. Their meals consisted of one mug of hot water in the morning, one bowl of hot water with a little barley flour (tsampa) stirred in for lunch and one-half of a Chinese steamed roll and another mug of hot water for dinner. My stepfather was one of the first to die in 1961.

Stories of Hardship

During my two and a half months in Lhasa, streams of relatives and friends came to see me, even people my family and I didn't know before. Everyone brought the customary Tibetan tea and bread to welcome me even though they were all so poor. Everyday I spent hours listening to their stories of 20 years of hardship under Chinese rule, and every day I wept until I thought there couldn't be any more

tears left in my head. But more always came the next day. Many of my old school-friends came to see me and they all looked at least ten years older than their age. Most of them had just been reunited with their husbands, who had spent from 10 to 20 years in prisons. They told me that for many years they never saw a Tibetan man on the streets, they were all killed or in prison or the hard labour camps. Lhasa was a city of frightened, hungry women. And, of course, the Chinese and some Tibetan collaborators.

One of school friends told me that her brother, with whom I also went to school, was arrested with nine other boys in 1968 and they were accused of being an underground resistance group. They were 15 to 24 years old. Their families were all made to come and watch the public execution of these boys. My friend and her mother and sister had to watch. Their father was already in prison for a 20 year term. Their elder sister was also sentenced to 20 years imprisonment in 1968 and is still in prison. Although the Chinese say that all the prisoners have been released many, many people are still in prisons.

Until 1979, due to severe restrictions, there was no freedom of movement. For example, my mother lives in the eastern part of Lhasa and one of her sisters lives in Shol, the town below the Potala. The distance between the two places is no more than three miles, yet they were not able to see each other for many years. One time my mother was told that her sister was seen near Shol walking like a lunatic, wearing a pair of Tibetan opera dancer's shoes and talking to herself. My mother was very worried when she heard this because her sister had five small children and her husband was in prison. But my mother was unable to go and see her or do anything at all because of the restrictions. In those days it was very dangerous and difficult for two people even to talk on the streets for more than two minutes. First, before they could say anything else, they had to recite lines from Mao's red book to one another, and then may be exchange a few words. If they were caught having a conversation for more than two minutes, they were suspected for forming a conspiracy against the new government.

After 1959 most of the men away in prison or hard labour camps, and everyone else had to stop their traditional professions and do heavy

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construction work or work in the fields. No matter how difficult, working in the fields was preferable to construction work. Construction work meant endless days, year after year, carrying stones that hurt your back and tore your hands, breaking stones to make them square for building, spending months in icy mud up to your thighs digging drains. All of this work was for convenience of the Chinese new homes for the officials and roads which Tibetans were not permitted to use.

Social Reform and Struggle Sessions

From 1960 to 1962 the so-called "social reform" started. This was, in fact, when the Chinese confiscated all private possessions, every single thing owned by a Tibetan, and made everyone poor. Then followed "class distinction" which meant that anyone who had worked for the former Tibetan government, the ruling families, Lamas or monastic personnel, land owners, military people, big and small businessmen, artists, writers, scholars and all their families were put into different categories and called, collectively, "the classed people". One way or another, most people were connected to one of these categories.

The children of all these "classed people" were put into a category called "butruk", and were not accepted in any school until recent change of policy. For nearly 20 years all these children were sent to road construction camps in different parts in Tibet. My own brother and sister, and many other young relatives were in that category. The big new artificial lake in front of the Potala, seen in recent pictures of Lhasa, was built by these children of the "classed people" in the late 1960's. Their age was from 12 to the early 20's. The people in Lhasa regard this lake as a memorial to the children's suffering.

Among all the hardships the Tibetans had to face, the evening criticism meeting or *thamzing* struggle session, was the worse. Worse than death or any torture, these *thamzing* which only stopped last year were held every night after work and lasted until midnight. During *thamzing* people were forced to criticize and beat one another, or they would be beaten themselves. Neighbors against neighbors, students against teachers, children against parents, former servants against their masters, tenants against landlords and so on. When it

was your turn to criticize some one, even your mother or father, you had to spit in their face and kick and hit them with all your force, or else you would be subjected to the same for not doing it "seriously" enough. My friend's son, 13-year-old, had to denounce and strike his father. He had to say, "My father has been a very bad father in the past and now I can get back at him and hit him in public."

One of the things I didn't understand at first was why so many people kept leaning forward and asking me to repeat what I had just said. I kept asking them. "Why can't you hear?" They finally explained that not only had vast members of people lost their hearing from being struck repeatedly on the ears during *thamzing* but that they had frequently lost their vision by being hit in the eyes.

If anything was ever perfectly designed to destroy the soul of a people, it must be these meetings. And yet, they did not destroy the Tibetan people. Only their faith in His Holiness the Dalai Lama and their religion kept the people from dying, however. I realized this over and over again. One man, a stranger to me, came to see me secretly and explained that he had been in prison for 10 years, but after he was released he worked. From his small earnings over the next 10 years he managed to save 150 Chinese Re Min Be and he told me, "I trust you to take this to India and give it to His Holiness. I know everything is so expensive and hard for Him, and this is my small contribution." I gave the money to His Holiness.

After the "social reform" no one owned any property. Since the houses were all confiscated, the house you might be living in was "nobody's" house, and "nobody" could care about maintaining it, so the houses in the Tibetan section were all going to ruin. It was a slum. My mother's house was quite large, so she used to live in half of it and rent the rest to three families. Now there were 12 families living in it. Each family was given one room in which to sleep and cook, even if there were five or six people in the family, and every person had to have a card issued by the local authority. On that card each person sharing the room was listed. The local officer came often in the middle of the night to check the cards. If they found one extra person in the room, or someone listed but not there was serious trouble. Sometimes men and women were caught having boyfriends or girlfriends with them. At the next night's *thamzing* they had to confess and receive a

lot of criticism, and often beating. One girl was caught with her boyfriend and they were both dragged, naked, into the street and all the neighbors were called for an immediate meeting. She said that when people were spitting on her, "I just spit back on them. What more did I have to lose when I was naked in the street in front of everyone."

Since 1979 many of these rigid rules have been relaxed particularly in Lhasa. When I was there everyone was enjoying the little air of freedom that they have now. People were especially relieved to no longer have to go to the evening thamzing. Also, families were being heard from and being reunited, not only with those of us who are outside Tibet, but within Tibet itself. Many families had been separated and had not heard from one another for 10 to 20 years.

Gang of Four

The Chinese are now encouraging the people to go to business or back to their old professions. They say that in the past 20 years they had not been able to improve the nation, and people had suffered a lot because of the Gang of Four. "Now that the Gang of Four has been destroyed, the people must take a new road to develop the nation. In order to develop the nation, individuals must first become rich." When I was there it was widely announced through radio, newspaper and local meeting that there would be no tax for the next two years for those who go into business, and they were urging everyone to become rich. Many Tibetans were saying, "They took everything we had and now they are telling us to become rich!"

Now if people have money, they can buy vegetables, meat and butter from street vendors. Basic food like grain was still on ration and not available in the market while I was there. The ration limit per person per month was 25 pounds, and they gave me five pounds extra. You could take half rice and half barley or wheat. It cost about 10 Re Men Be. Worker's wages ranged from 30 to 65 Re Men Be per month, about 20 to 40 US dollars.

Until last year food was almost nonexistent in Lhasa, even if you had a little money, because of the travel restrictions. Food and fuel have always been brought into Lhasa from outside and that was not allowed. I was told that if a mother had a little food she had no fuel to cook it with and if she had some fuel, there was no food. There

was no barley, no butter and no meat, the classic staples of Tibetan diet, and people's bodies couldn't adjust to eating the wheat that the Chinese made them grow. They were always sick and hungry. If you somehow managed to get a small piece of butter and wanted to make Tibetan tea, you had to lock up your room and put all your quilts over you while you churned the tea, so no one could hear and denounce you at the next thamzing.

My mother had two children and, after her sister was put in prison, she also had her three children. She was working at road construction but she couldn't earn enough to feed herself and five children. The children were so hungry that they told her they had decided to go and steal food from the Chinese soldier's pigs. Since many people were already stealing the pigs' food from the garrison in Lhasa, the children had to walk five miles and cross the Tsango River to reach another camp. They hid in the weeds until the soldiers had fed the pigs and left, and then rushed to the piggens to try and snatch what they could from the hungry pigs before the long walk home.

Shoes on Display

Clothing was still very difficult to get, especially shoes. Everyone had to have a permit to be able to buy items such as clothes, blankets, etc. When I first got there I saw all my relatives wearing the same shoes for many, many years. When the soles wore out, they resoled them with pieces of car tyre. One day I went with one of my cousins to the big department store near Shol. We went to the counter where there were about eight pairs of shoes on display, and I asked the Chinese girl at the counter to show me a pair that would fit my cousin. She told me she could not sell any of the shoes, so I asked her what the shoes were for. She said, "these shoes are for display only. If you have any complaints, go and speak to the higher authorities, there is no use arguing with me." My cousin, who was standing near me, did not seem surprised at all. I got angry and went to Lhasa Reception Committee to complain. The Tibetan men I spoke to there told me to come back after three days, in the meantime he would talk to someone in the Commerce Department and see what he could do. When I went back he told me that he couldn't help me. He had talked with someone in the Commerce Department and had been told that the shoes must be kept for display but that more were on their way from China. As soon as they came, he said, he would

order the girl to sell a few pairs to me. However, while I was there the shoes never came.

Socks, handkerchiefs, farming tools, small Chinese thermos flasks, mugs and a few other small items could be purchased without much trouble. Foreign tourists were able to buy a number of things from the shop in the guest house. The shop was quite nice, with canned food, cigarettes, very pretty new Tibetan clothing such as boots, hats and dresses of good quality. Tibetan people were not allowed to go there, but the Tibetans who were working in the guest houses were nicely dressed in traditional clothing. I should add that the tourists who were staying in the Lhasa guest house were fed Chinese food.

Visit to Monasteries

The Lhasa Reception Committee had arranged a jeep for me and my family to visit Sera and Drepung monasteries. They also gave us a tea reception at both places. Although some of the famous temples were kept up for tourists to see, 99 per cent of the monks' quarters and temples were permanently closed and crumbling. They told us that there were about 50 monks at each of the monasteries, but I only saw a few.

I was most moved by my visit to Garden monastery. I had been told that it was completely destroyed, but that in the past year the Tibetans in Lhasa, young and old, had voluntarily been rebuilding it. The Reception Committee told me that no jeep was available to take me there, so I went on a truck that was hired by the people. Everyone must work a six day week, but on Sunday many truckloads of people spend the day working on the reconstruction of Garden. During the week, anyone finding a nice stone or piece of wood will hide it and take it with them on Sunday. The road is so bad that the trucks cannot travel the last few miles, so everyone gets out and some carry the supplies while 30 or so people pull the truck with ropes uphill miles to the site.

I was so shocked to see the destruction when I got there. There was nothing left but ruin. A whole religious city made of stone, just smashed. It seemed almost impossible to bring it back to its original shape, yet our people's will and spirit is so strong. There are 10 to 12 tents set up permanently now with a big kitchen, and a few monks and lay people are staying there and cooking on Sundays for the workers. Everyone who can contribute a coin towards the cost of tea and food.

The Chinese have not interfered so far, and the Tibetans have already suffered so much that they don't care if they get into trouble for doing this work. They have already experienced the worst.

The young people have amazing religious faith. Somehow, during all the years of fear, parents taught their children, secretly, their religion. Adults and children have continued, very quietly, to say prayers every night. Two years ago, when the Chinese announced freedom of religion, the young people decided to rebuild a very old and important small temple on the outskirts of Lhasa called Phara Lobuk, that the Chinese had destroyed. But themselves, they rebuilt the temple and main image, which are now called the Youths' Temple and the Youths' Jo.

My two and a half months in Lhasa went too fast. Suddenly, it was September 9th, time to say good-bye to everyone I loved. The morning I felt was the most difficult moment of my life. About 50 relatives and friends came to say good-bye with scarves, chang (Tibetan beer) and tea. On that breezy autumn morning, with heavy heart, I bid good-bye to my mother, aunt and the rest of my family and friends. I remembered the account of my mother's last good-bye to my step-father. The day the prisoners were being sent from Norbu Lingka to hard labour camps, the Chinese announced that families might come and say good-bye. When my mother got there, with my sister and brother, the Chinese were shouting through the loudspeakers, "Everyone will be allowed two minutes to say good-bye, but you are not allowed to cry! If anyone cries the line will be cut off at that point no one else will be allowed to say good-bye! *You must not cry!*" As each family moved forward to say good-bye, the people behind them pleaded in whispers, "Oh, please don't cry, please I want to see my husband so much." When my mother's turn came, she stood there, unable to speak for fear she would cry, clutching my little sister's and brother's hands. My step-father took of his watch and gave it to her, saying "Here, you will need this." She gave it back and said, "No, you keep it. You will need it. You will need it." And thus they said good-bye forever. No one "cried," although it was impossible to stop the tears from coming out of their eyes.

Now I wept with my family, and all along the way to New York I could only sit and wonder what the future holds for them!

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The Gujarat Agitation

Vadilal Lallubhai Mehta

The fight in Gujarat and all over the country is not against reservations but is against the system of reservation not enshrined in the constitution and which is against the principle of efficient and effective Government. It is also against the injustice meted out to the economically backward class and to many other backward communities which are more numerous than the backward class and the backward tribes, who have all these 30 years of independence suffered heavily and are still socially and economically backward with hardly any education for their children and economically getting more and more poor and unemployed and under-employed.

The fight on both sides is purely dishonest and selfish for their own selfish interests. So far as higher administrative services, social services, courts, military and such essential services are concerned, there cannot be and should not be any reservations. These appointments should be by merit only. For the rest there can be reservations.

The problem of reservation in all spheres of life which includes education, services, social benefits, subsidies and many such others has been agitating the minds of the public all over the country in one way or the other for the last several years and it has now taken a serious turn in many states as it was bound to one day or the other as a logical sequence to the lengthening of the process every ten years and now it has been extended for another ten years in January 1980 i.e. for 40 years, which was not the intention of our constitution makers. Such a serious turn took place in Bihar first during Karpuri Thakur's Janata Government. This has spread to other states also. Recently it has been agitating the minds of the people of Gujarat and a serious conflict is brewing between the backward caste (Harijans) and the rest. The

population of backward caste (Harijans) is about 7% and of the backward tribes is about 13% and accordingly reservations are granted of 7% and 13% respectively. There has been heart burning during the last 30 years of the other backward classes which were not classified till now as backward class or backward tribes. Ultimately Government of Gujarat had to appoint a Commission for investigating this, as the uproar was slowly getting momentum, viz. the Bakshi Commission in the year 1972. Its report is revealing and an eye-opener although everyone vaguely knew of these facts from the Government downwards to politicians of all parties and of all hues. This has opened the eyes of everyone but still this problem is not yet faced boldly. Other backward classes and backward tribes are much poorer and much more uneducated and are below poverty line and still the Government and the politicians and the caste Hindus and the backward castes and tribes are not prepared to do justice to them. These poor classes are enumerated in the Bakshi Commission report which are more than 80 and constitute about 40% of the population i.e. the composition is as under :—

(1) Backward class (Harijans)	7%
(2) Backward tribes	13%
(3) Economically, educationally and socially backward castes as per Bakshi Commission Report are about	40%
(4) the rest of the castes which are called higher castes and which include most of the middle class who are also poor is about	40%

If the last one are also classified as economically backward according to incomes, their number will also be fairly high. In 1947, when the constitution was drafted and finalised it was envisaged by the constitution makers who included Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel, Babasaheb Ambedkar and other prominent leaders that there should be reservation for some time and not for a very long time and the same must be taken away at the earliest. The time fixed was 10 years. Our greedy politicians extended it by 10 years time in 60s, in 70s and in the 80s i.e. for a very long period of 40 years which was never envisaged and never desired by these great men and the Constituent Assembly. In January 1980 the present Government increased the limit by another ten years

i.e. made it 40 years from the time of independence purely on political grounds so as to get the votes of backward castes and the backward tribes. This was pure dishonesty and pure political corruption of every political party in the country; every political party and not only the old Congress Party and now the Congress (I) supported it for their own political purposes and their own benefit. This reprehensible behaviour of the political parties is the root cause of the present trouble all over the country and which is spreading. No body has till now cared for the other backward classes as shown above, who have been given a paltry and grudging recognition in the shape of a reservation of 5% from 1975 onwards although they constitute between 40 to 50% and who are much poorer than the backward classes (Harijans) and backward tribes.

Among the backward classes and the backward tribes, there are also several sub-castes. Some sub-castes have benefitted tremendously and have become rich both in wealth, education, socially and otherwise while others are still poor and backward both in wealth, education, socially and otherwise. A time has now come to differentiate between these and to remove from the list atleast the richer sections both educationally and economically from the list of reservations because they should and can now stand on their own legs. To still continue to give this facility to them is to their own disadvantage because they will never thus like or be able to forego the crutches given to them. If the original thinking of even Babasaheb Ambedkar that reservation should not be for long and that he was rather against reservation in his speeches and had warned against the ill-consequences of reservations is to be paid attention, then, is it not high time that even these reservations are entirely stopped for these two castes and classes and these reservations are transferred to the other backward classes who number 40% and bring them up from their present plight. This will enable the country to give all the reservations which are now in Gujarat $7 + 13 + 5 = 25\%$ to them instead of the paltry 5% now grudgingly given to them. If 25% are transferred to these weaker sections who number 40 to 50% it will help Gujarat and the whole country in a similar way thus enabling the entire country to change within another ten or twenty years. Instead of doing this, we are beating about the bush on the one side to keep the reservations at any cost and to fight heavily for removing it on the other side. According to me both are wrong and both are selfish and it does not behove them.

On the one side backward class and backward tribes and on the other the rest is a dangerous situation, which is bound to lead to dire consequences. They should be brought up by reservation not of 25% but even to 30% asking the caste Hindus and middle class and the backward castes and tribes to sacrifice, which would do justice to the country, to ourselves and to the backward people. Actually statistically there is no sacrifice in this. This is the right thing for the backward castes, backward tribes and the higher castes to do but none of them is prepared to do or understand the justice of it and all the three are actually in the wrong trying to keep what they have and grab more.

Let us bring up in the next 20 years those who are poor and uneducated. Let us create strong public opinion in favour of the really poor. Have we the strength and have we the desire to do it? If we do not have it, circumstances and the times will force us to do so. Let us be aware and do the right thing in right time before it is too late.

THE FREE MAN

Liberty isn't a thing you have been given as a present. You can be a free man under a dictatorship. It is sufficient if you struggle against it. He who thinks with his own head is a free man. He who struggles for what he believes to be right is a free man. Even if you live in the freest country in the world and are lazy, callous, apathetic, irresolute, you are not free but a slave, though there be no coercion and no opposition. Liberty is something you have to take for yourself. There is no use begging it from others.

—Ignazio Silone

Second Bhimsen Sachar Memorial Lecture :
1st December, 1980

Onslaughts on the Constitution—III

N.A. Palkhivala

We are the world's largest democracy but not largest in our constitutional maturity. We are far far behind the other countries. In fact we are in constitutional infancy. If you go by the real standards of constitutional development, all our endeavours during the last 15 years have been towards checking the endeavours and the activities of those who want to put the constitution in the reverse gear and all the activities of lawyers, jurists, public spirited citizens are all directed to preventing the constitution from going in the reverse gear at the instance of the politicians. There is no time and no opportunity to let the constitution grow and develop as it has in the United States. In the United States, over 200 years, every freedom has been enlarged, except only one amendment which took away the freedom, that was the prohibition amendment act which amended the U.S. Constitution. That also was reversed later. But apart from that one single amendment every constitutional amendment has either left the freedom untouched or enlarged the freedom. In our country it has been exactly the other way about.

In Australia recently they have passed laws which give full power of judicial review and Australia boasts that of all the democracies of the World they have the finest administration laws. The Australian civil servant, unlike our bureaucrats, gave evidence before the commission whose report led to the law being passed—that it is good for the efficiency and morale, mark the words 'efficiency and morale' of the administration that there should be judicial review. In short judicial review is a friend of good administration; it is not an enemy of good administration. And any politician who wants to do away with judicial review—one of the onslaughts on the constitution—is no

friend of good administration. History shows that whenever you give unfettered power, uncontrollable power, to any human being it is bound to be abused and history has recorded no exception, except in cases of men like Emperor Ashoka or Marcus Aurelius or a President like Abraham Lincoln, but these are exceptions. By and large human beings are such that if you give them unlimited powers to dominate the lives of others they would abuse the power. That is why you need judicial review and that is why anyone who talks of sovereignty of the English Parliament is at least 20 years out of date.

Take the other countries, leave aside England, there is not a single democracy in the World today which has not given the power to its courts to review legislative action and executive action. Take all the countries of Europe, the courts can review legislative or an executive action. You may call them by different names, you may call them administrative courts and the rest, but there is a tribunal independent of the Government who will sit in judgement on the laws passed, on the validity of the laws and the validity of the administrative actions. So this sovereignty of Parliament is a myth known to every student of law and it is only sheer ignorance which can make anyone say that there is anything like sovereignty today in one particular organ of the constitution. No civilised country entertains today the notion that the legislature shall have unlimited power to do what it likes with the freedoms and the liberties of the citizens. No country in the World says it. India is the only country where today politicians still talk that language and they talk that language with impunity because our people are not active citizens enough.

Let me come to the type of constitutional amendments which have been passed. If you look at the history of the constitutional amendments, in sheer infamy, in sheer ignominious record, the crown goes to the Parliament elected in 1971, which came to an end, thank God for it, in 1977. It is this Parliament which has an unparalleled record of the most ignominious, the most infamous amendments to the constitution, attempted amendments to the constitution and ordinary laws totally in violation of the spirit and the scheme of the constitution. First let me talk of the actual amendment of the constitution, the 42nd amendment that was passed. It is a blot on our constitutional history. It is an outrage. After the Supreme Court had held in 1973 that Parliament has no power to alter the basic structure of the

constitution—and a lot of credit for that decision goes to my very dear friend, Mr. Justice Khanna whom I am delighted to find present here—his dictum that the basic structure cannot be altered has held the ground. It was attempted by the amendment passed in 1976 at Diwali time, the 42nd amendment to supersede that judgement by saying : Parliament can make any amendment, no court, neither the Supreme Court nor any other court shall have a right to go into the question of the validity of the amendment. That was the 42nd amendment. It further said: if our idea is to give effect to directive principles of State policy, we can ride roughshod over all human freedoms.

I would like to repeat what I have said elsewhere but it is a thing which will bear a million repetitions. Every Government of the World, every totalitarian country, every communist country, whether it is China or Russia or Eastern European country, has in its constitution certain principles which correspond to our directive principles of State policy. This is not something new. Every constitution has very noble and lofty directive principles of State policy—what politicians should do to better the lot of the masses is there in every constitution. The difference between an authoritarian constitution and a democratic constitution lies in this : that in an authoritarian constitution the directive principles can be given effect to without any regard to human freedoms while, in a democratic constitution, you have to give effect to directive principles but by the permissible means, the means which are permissible under the constitution namely adherence to and respect for the Bill of Rights, the fundamental rights—that is the whole difference—and if you are going to tell our people, because they are illiterate, because they are ignorant, because 70% of them still cannot read or write, you have the temerity to tell the people that when I am giving effect to the directive principles, I must have complete freedom to do what I like and I am not concerned with your human rights—well if you make such a claim then all that you are saying in-effect is that you want a dictatorship in this country; because there is no other word except despotism and the word dictatorship and the word totalitarianism and the word authoritarianism, to denote what happens to a country which has got no human rights.

In Japan and in Germany where the rate of economic growth is the fastest since the last War, there are guaranteed human rights which no government can even abridge. In our country the Parliament can abridge the rights but cannot abrogate them. In Japan and in

Germany they cannot even abridge and in those countries the rate of economic growth is the fastest. It depends on the calibre of your politicians, it depends on the quality of men you put in power. It is not the fundamental rights which are standing in the way of the economic development of the country. It is the opaque ignorance, it is the total incompetence to govern which is standing in the way of the betterment of the country. We are still among the 15 poorest countries of the world because of political incompetence, not because of fundamental rights. Now quite rightly in the Minerva Mills case which was heard last year at this time and was decided in May 1980, the Supreme Court held that this particular part of the 42nd amendment is unconstitutional and attempt is now made to ask the Supreme Court to review the judgement. Frankly, using my words with great care and with great circumspection, I do say that any politician who seeks to get Keshavananda Bharati case or Minerva Mills case overruled is guilty of a crime against the people of India. I use my words very guardedly, he is guilty of a crime against the people of India (loud applause). The crime will go unpunished but it is nevertheless a crime. You can break the heart of a person, it is not a crime. The crime will go unpunished but crime it is in the eyes of some higher forces. And it is a crime when you are dealing with an illiterate people, who do not know what they are losing, to take away their rights on false glib pretences and making statements which the poor people have no means of verifying. The media are all under your control, the radio, the television, the newspapers have a limited amount of newsprint, they cannot print all that they want; in these circumstances to mislead the people into bartering away, giving away, their fundamental rights, is to my mind nothing short of an act against society.

Now I would strongly urge that a very very vocal and articulate public opinion must be built up in this country to prevent even an endeavour to have the Minerva Mills case reviewed. There is no provision of law under which such a review application can be filed. There is no provision of law, either in the Supreme Court Rules or anywhere else and as I told the Supreme Court, suppose the citizen had lost this case and the citizen had asked for a review, would you have entertained such ridiculous application. Why should it be entertained because the litigant happens to be a government. There is no answer to this particular line of argument.

Non-party Constructive Workers Get-together
March 13-15, 1981 : News Letter

Key-note Address

Vimala Thakar

Friends,

We are meeting today under the shadow of rising storms. The whole country is in turmoil. Along with political unrest, there is economic instability due to increasing inflation. The very social fabric is being torn apart class-wise as well as caste-wise. Educational institutions have degenerated into cultural slaughter houses. Institutions of local self-government have been reduced to gambling centres for political parties and last but not least is the moral down-fall due to corruption in every field of social activity.

Many a sensitive citizen must be wondering as to why Indians are indulging in collective self-destruction by getting corrupt, being dishonest in their jobs, being violent and hateful and being irresponsible in individual life? What has happened to this country? What has gone wrong? Where is the religiosity and spirituality of the "Great India"? How is it that all concern for national unity and integrity is wiped off the consciousness of the people? Where is the love for parliamentary democracy and socialistic society? Where has disappeared the non-party Sarvodaya Force which was intensely active and effective a few years ago? It seems to me that we will have to take into consideration a number of factors before we could find an answer to any of these questions baffling us.

It was the British regime that introduced the idea of nationhood and dimension of politics into Indian consciousness. With the help of science and technology, they spread a net-work of railways and roads throughout the country. With the help of educational institutions

they aroused the self-consciousness and a sense of unity among the people. Through social discipline and efficient administration they inculcated a sense of responsibility and self-restraint among the people. Having never known caste-system in Christian culture, they did not recognize caste distinction in Indian society.

When they disappeared as rulers from the Indian scene and Indians took over the administration, the deterioration in national life stealthily set in. We are communal minded. Our psyche is caste-ridden. We have had no training for behaving as "social and rational animals". Civic sense has never been our weakness. The classes as well as the masses had accepted and they still accept the age-old tradition and unwritten convention, that Brahmins are a superior caste followed in superiority by the Kshatriyas. They are born to rule over others. The Vaishyas or the Bania caste is meant to take care of business and industries, whereas the low-caste and low-class people are born to serve the higher caste and higher class people. It is no use denying that even after thirty-four years of political freedom, we as a people are not free of this psychological inhibition. The behaviour of the political parties, the elected representatives of the people, the members of bureaucracy and social leaders of rural and urban sections of society, reflects the inhibition and sometimes even perversity relating to the issue of caste-ism and communalism.

All our tall claims to being a Secular state are really empty shells. We are either fanatics in the name of religion or we are indifferent about the relevance of Religion to life. Ignorance and fanaticism go together. Ignorance about one's own religious and cultural heritage stimulates fear and hatred about other religions and cultures.

The Indian governments in the last thirty years have been hypersensitive about the issue of secularism. Lest their bonafides be doubted, they have been pampering the denominational and religious minorities in India, and lately they have started exploiting the casteist feelings of certain sections of Hindu society.

In the wake of communalism and casteism came nepotism, favouritism, groupism, linguism and factionalism. In the absence of towering personalities of national stature, factionalism and groupism got

stronger every day. That poison permeated the very fabric and texture of socio-economic as well as political life. That poison tore down the political parties to pieces. That poison polluted the university campuses. That poison contaminated the Gurudwaras, temples and mosques alike.

Let us turn to our so called love of Democracy and desire for Socialistic pattern of Society. It was not easy nor is it so even now, to transmit democracy as a way of living into the Indian psychology as well as social structure based on hierarchy. We may talk about the all pervading Atman and Paramatman, but we have no faith in Man and his divine potential. We simply refuse to treat every human being as an intelligent independent citizen, equal to ourselves. Masses do not command our respect. They are for being exploited and utilized for our selfish ends. Their immaturity is our opportunity. Their ignorance is our capital.

Thus no one made any systematic effort to educate the masses in the fundamentals of democracy. No one exerted to enlighten the people on their role and significance of their participation in local self-government, as well as their responsibilities as the supreme power-holders. A people with feudalist psychology, capitalist aspirations and authoritarian habits cannot operate democracy which is one of the most revolutionary forms of government and way of living.

Moreover a people living in utter poverty and starvation know only one language i.e. of money, purchasing power, possessions and economic security. They have suffered from chronic starvation. Hence they are haunted by the fear of the "Morrow". They would barter their votes, talents, beauty, sex and even their civil liberties for some paltry economic gain. Elections today are bargaining seasons! At the counters of nominations the candidates bargain. At the polling booths the voters bargain. Elections are in reality legally sanctioned auction seasons! No one is really elected and no one really represents any one! Thus a vicious game between the ruling parties and the opposition parties has been going on for the last quarter century.

If we turn to the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi, I beg to submit that he was not wholly understood by his colleagues and followers. His dream of a Free India winning her freedom with Truth and Non-Violence was of an India which would explore a different civilization

than the western mechanized and dehumanized civilization. But his followers dreamt of an India imitating the West in her pattern of Industrial Revolution and her blind worship of automation and cybernation.

India today is a pathetic picture of contrasts. Huge industrial plants, huge irrigations, huge capital based projects and schemes on the one hand and millions of unskilled rural labour as well as millions of educated skilled labour begging around for jobs on the other! We have not been able to follow the economy of self-reliance envisaged by Gandhiji and we naturally have not been able to provide jobs to ever increasing population inspite of remarkable advancement in science and technology.

Unless we make up our minds about the essential features of our economy, nature and extent of mechanization in industry and the nature of ownership in industry; unless we make up our minds, whether India would be primarily an agricultural country and have industrialization as a secondary necessity or we want India to be primarily an industrial country with agriculture as a secondary industry, the confusion shall never end.

Man is still a violent animal. The history of Man, the world over is a record of Man's futile efforts to become non-violent. We are barbaric, crude and violent as a race. Violence cannot be eradicated from human consciousness through theoretical, academic instructions. It cannot be eliminated through religious teachings and propaganda. It cannot be rooted out by the force of bombs and bullets or by the fear of imprisonment or even getting killed.

If the way of living is based on psychological assertion, economic competition and aggression as well as political authoritarianism, people are bound to feel that violence has a sanction of the society and the state. A peaceful society requires a non-violent people, a non-violent economy and a non-violent social structure.

We will have to make up our minds if we are willing to explore Peace as a way of living and have courage to experiment in the Economy of Peace and Politics of Peace. The national crisis requires of us wider horizons, brighter visions, sturdier hearts and experimental attitudes.

As regards arresting the erosion of human values, we will have to plough our own minds and lives anew. Do we have faith in any absolute values? If yes, what are they? Do we have faith that Life is Divine? Do we have reverence for Man and his freedom to think, act, speak and move? Is truthfulness an absolute value for us? Has a sense of justice any place in our life?

Unless there are some absolute values for which man would be willing to live and for which man would be willing to lay down his life, life is not worth living. Relationships become a meaningless farce where people indulge in hypocrisy, mutual cheating or exploitation and so on.

We are facing today a crisis in the character. Every body has nearly lost credibility with every one else. The relations between the rulers and the ruled, the teachers and the taught, the producers and the consumers, and the parents and the children are fraught with suspicion, distrust, disrespect and even muffled anger and jealousy.

Faith in the divinity of Life and Man himself as a valuably eloquent expression of that life, will have to be reinvoked by those who have it and who live it. Only those words shall carry some weight, which are born of the act of living. Scholarship and erudition have outlived their day. Oratory and propaganda have become out of date. What the people require is the warm touch of life and living.

How is all this to be done?

Though the intelligentsia is vocal and the press is also vigilant, there is no consolidated homogenous peoples' moral force in the country. Though there are thousands of constructive workers and hundreds of educationists working silently in rural India, they are not well-knit into a democratic loose brotherhood. They are scattered all over the vast country. Their efforts overlap; their voices wither away in the wilderness of prevalent chaos and confusion.

It is urgently necessary, therefore, that all such voluntary organizations and eminent social workers, who work on a non-party, non-sectarian, non-dogmatic and non-authoritarian basis come together; that they find out (1) An area of agreement (2) Avenues of mutual

co-operation and (3) Ways of raising their united voice against the social injustice, economic exploitation and political gangsterism that is torturing the citizens of India in every walk of life.

If we learn to rally round some fundamental principles and absolute values of life, we could work together. Deep rooted is the habit in our blood to wait for the advent of a towering personality around whom we can rally. We are apt to relegate all responsibility either to the state or to a super-human leader or bow down to some avatars.

Once the united voice of the people is raised on a non-party national level, it will develop a moral force that is sadly lacking in the country today.

If and when the united voice acquires credibility both with the people as well as the government, it could then and then only, operate as a "Peoples Vigil" and guard the peace and prosperity of the land.

It is an open secret that no political party in the country today is capable of delivering the goods; no party alone is capable of meeting the challenges at the present juncture.

It is also evident that a National Government consisting of representatives of the political parties as well as the people, might perhaps be able to save democracy and national integrity. But who is to raise this urgently needed note? Who amongst us can claim credibility with the people of the North, the South, the East and the West? Who amongst us can claim a non-partisan past in our social-political life obliging the government at the Centre and those at the State level, to listen to us?

And yet there is no other way but to get together, pool our intellectual and moral resources together and stand united in the name of the Indian People.

There is no other way but to travel throughout the length and breadth of the country and mobilize the people for their own security, peace and prosperity. There is no other way but to educate the majority, living in the villages, about their responsibility in maintaining their civil liberties, in defending their honour and that of the womenfolk in the country.

A huge force of volunteers who will organize themselves on the district and tehsil level and function in a way that would be manpower-based and not money-based is urgently necessary.

A decade of collective austerity, a decade of voluntary organized social service, a decade of individual and collective discipline, a decade of intellectual clarity and psychological integrity shall save the country and pull up the collapsing democracy. It shall then enable us to materialize what Gandhiji used to call Hind-Swaraj, what Vinobaji calls Gram-Swaraj and what our beloved Jawahar-Jayaprakash used to call a Humanitarian Humane Society.

RESOLUTION RE : POLITICAL SITUATION

This Convention of non-party and non-power seeking constructive workers, meeting at Lajpat Bhawan, New Delhi, on March 13-15, 1981 :—

PREAMBLE

Realising that :—

- (a) Eternal vigilance on the part of citizens is absolutely necessary to safeguard and strengthen democratic values and that political democracy cannot endure long without economic and social democracy i.e. an egalitarian society free from social injustice and economic exploitation, and that these objectives

can best be attained in a decentralised political and economic order with maximum participation of the common people and development of the People's Power or Lokshakti; and

- (b) Great damage is being caused to the Nation's integrity, unity and harmony by divisive tendencies manifesting themselves on account of communalism, casteism, linguism and regionalism; and
- (c) Corruption in public life, if allowed to flourish unchecked, will undermine the common man's faith in the democratic process besides destroying the moral fibre of the Nation; and that corruption cannot be eradicated from business and Government administration unless it is first rooted out from the political sphere. (II)

HEREBY RESOLVES AS FOLLOWS—

- (I) That this Convention shall launch a public campaign against political corruption in high places to begin with, and demand from the Government, Legislators and Political Parties that:—
 - (i) An anti-defection law be enacted requiring every M.P., or M.L.A./M.L.C., elected on a Party ticket, to resign his seat in the legislature, and if necessary seek a fresh mandate from his electorate, in case he wishes to change or renounce allegiance to his party;
 - (ii) A Lok Pal at the centre be appointed, with self-executing machinery, free from Govt. control, to probe into the charges of corruption and misconduct against any Chief Minister or Central Minister including the Prime Minister and/or their family members living with them;
 - (iii) All political parties should be required by law to maintain faithful accounts of all monies received and spent by them and to subject such accounts to an Audit by the Auditor and Comptroller General of India;
 - (iv) All Ministers, M.Ps. & M.L.As./M.L.Cs. should be required by law to declare publicly their assets and those of their family members living with them, from year to year and they

should be prevented from indulging in ostentatious living and from misusing for personal monetary gain, their position or Governmental facilities allowed to them from the public exchequer, such as Govt. accommodation, cars, telephones etc., and

- (v) Suitable legislation be enacted immediately to curb the power of money in elections, if necessary by providing for State financing of elections.

(II) That, pending necessary legislation and Governmental action on the above demands, this Convention shall :—

- (i) Work for the adoption and implementation of a Code of Conduct for Ministers, Legislators, Political Parties and Voters;
- (ii) Appoint a non-official judicial commission, consisting of retired judges of the Supreme Court and/or High Court, to give their prima facie opinion on matters brought before it by the aggrieved citizens regarding corruption and misconduct in high places, till such time that a Lok Pal is appointed at the Centre and Lok Ayuktas are appointed and allowed to function effectively at the State level;
- (iii) Educate the common people through group meetings, press and platform on the duties and obligations of citizenship on the one hand and, on the other, constitute a band of Satyagrahis in each State and Union Territory, beginning with the Union Territory of Delhi, willing to offer Satyagraha, on Gandhian lines, in case the political leaders and parties decline to concede the demands mentioned above or, having adopted the Code of Conduct, commit gross violations of the same;
- (iv) The Convention shall use its best endeavours to build a National Consensus to safeguard National integrity, unity and harmony, as also on such urgent issues of National importance which must transcend party or power politics;
- (v) The Convention shall use its best endeavours to start a National Missionaries Training Institute for dedicated young

men who may be prepared to devote a few years of their life to selfless service of the country.

(III) RESOLVED FURTHER THAT :—

- (a) A Central Coordination Committee be constituted, on behalf of this Convention, consisting of whole time and regular part-time voluntary workers, to initiate all necessary and consequential actions for the realisation of the objectives mentioned in this resolution including the Preamble. For this purpose the Central Coordination Committee shall meet once every three months and shall also report the progress of work to an all India convention of constructive workers to be held once a year. The Central Coordination Committee shall also publish a Newsletter to keep all constructive workers concerned fully informed and to ensure their active participation. The Central Coordination Committee shall organise Coordination Centres in selected areas in the country to assist and advise constructive workers in carrying out programmes adopted at this Convention.
- (b) The Central Coordination Committee shall seek and enlist, for the realisation of the above objectives, active cooperation and help from all like-minded non-party and non-power seeking constructive workers and organisations on the one hand and leaders of all political parties in and outside Parliament, on the other.
- (c) The Central Coordination Committee shall raise its voice of protest whenever there is gross violation of democratic norms and values, in order to safeguard (a) freedom of the Press and mass media (b) rule of law and independence of the judiciary (c) free and fair elections and (d) civil liberties of the people.
- (d) During the next one year, the Central Coordination Committee will assist educated citizens (lawyers, doctors, writers, journalists, social workers and youth) to organise non-party Peoples Forums or Peoples Committees in a few selected areas all over the country. These Peoples Forums or Committees will, inter alia, develop the common people's initiative to

solve their problems instead of waiting for or depending upon Governmental action alone.

- (e) The Central Coordination Committee shall at all times place due emphasis on all whole-time and regular part-time workers, engaged in various programmes herein outlined, to lead a life of personal integrity, austerity and selfless service of the people.

RESOLUTION ON ASSAM

This convention of non-party constructive workers from various States of India feel deeply concerned about the grave situation in Assam. Assam is not only strategically or politically important part of India, but it is much more important to us culturally. Assam, containing people of different races and different cultures, has appreciably enriched our country.

The people of Assam have been engaged, for the last seventeen months in a democratic and peaceful movement. The movement has tried to attract the attention of the Union Government as well as the people of the rest of India towards a tremendously significant issue of Foreign Nationals infiltrating into our country.

The convention congratulates the AASU leaders and the people of Assam who have cooperated with them, in conducting the peaceful movement, on their courage and determination.

This convention appeals to AASU leaders and the people of Assam not to leave the path of peaceful and democratic movement, inspite of every provocation.

This convention assures the leaders of the movement of our moral support as long as the movement remains peaceful, non-communal and non-sectarian.

At the same time, this convention appeals to the Government of India :

1. To assure the people of Assam and those of the rest of India, that every care would be taken to see that no infiltration takes place in future. It must assure the people that the Government will never tolerate such infiltration and if any cases of infiltration take place, it

will deal with them promptly and summarily irrespective of the caste, creed or religion of the infiltrators.

2. To bring out a "White Paper" on Assam, as early as possible. It would clarify the minds of people about :—

- (a) Government's precise stand on the issues involved.
- (b) The nature of the demands of AASU leaders and the position of the government in relation to them.

3. That it should handle peaceful and democratically organised peoples' movement in a different manner than the one adopted in cases of violent, destructive and disruptive movements.

4. The convention expresses its appreciation of the fact that the Government of India are prepared to detect and deport those foreign nationals who came to India in and after March 1971. We appeal to the government to set up a machinery to execute its assurance as soon as humanly possible.

5. This convention feels strongly that Press Censorship in Assam should be lifted without any further delay and that a genuinely representative government should be installed in Assam through fresh elections. It would require detection also of those foreign Nationals who have infiltrated into the country between 1961 to 1971. Hence we feel it vitally necessary that the government agrees to go back from 1971 to 1961 for the process of deletion of Foreign Nationals from the Voters List.

6. Lastly we appeal to both the Government of India as well as the AASU leaders to hold talks immediately, without either of them setting up preconditions for such a formal meeting.

RESOLUTION RE : CONSTRUCTIVE PROGRAMME

Among the more than 100 countries of the world which attained independence from foreign domination during the last 3 decades, India has a unique place with regard to the mode of achieving freedom and the subsequent structure of administration. A major factor which helped India achieve this unique place is the leadership of Gandhiji that her people got during their freedom struggle. Gandhiji was the

only political philosopher in history, who during his country's fight against foreign rule, emphasised :

- (a) that the means for achieving our ends should be pure, and
- (b) the importance of constructive work during the freedom struggle.

The hardships that India faces today in the social, economic, political and other fields can mainly be said to be due to our negligence towards the constructive programme. In their totality the constructive programmes will result in providing physical requirements to the members of the society and also will help the individual to grow into a fuller personality.

2. Even in the 1920's Gandhiji said that if India sincerely took to constructive programmes, the country would be free in one year.

Freedom really should mean the freedom of the 85% of Indian people who live in its 5,76,000 villages. They can be said to be free only when they have a sense of fearless self-respect, self-help and independence totally free from exploitation from the cities. This could find its best expression in Gram Sabhas where the villagers themselves make decisions for their welfare and thus establish Gram Swaraj. That will be real democracy. In such villages, the development work will not be done through the bureaucracy but villages will realise the strength of the three constructive forces namely :

- (a) Planning and Execution by Gram Sabhas;
- (b) Instruments by the Government; and
- (c) Training by social institutions.

3. Properly implemented constructive programmes will also effect the exploitation prone structure to change into an exploitation-free structure in the fields of politics, education, justice, land holding etc. It will require decentralisation of power-political, economic, social, religious etc. The constructive popular force in the shape of village Sabhas will be a guarantee for the building of a democratic, peaceful social change.

Education will have to be re-oriented to inculcate in the students the spirit of productive labour, cooperation, scientific outlook,

democratic attitudes, self-discipline. Basic education will be the sheet anchor of the education policy.

4. The basic concepts of constructive programmes as enunciated during the freedom struggle are equally relevant today, in particular:

- (a) Communal harmony and respect for every individual will be essential if the country has to progress.
- (b) To put an immediate stop to the flow of village wealth to the cities, the villages must progressively produce their requirements like cloth, oil, leather goods and be discouraged to buy city-made-goods.
- (c) We call ourselves a poor country and yet our several crores of rupees are wasted to buy liquor and other unhealthy drugs.
- (d) Cow protection
- (e) Trusteeship; and
- (f) Nai Talim.

5. After Five Year Plans incurring an expenditure of Rs. 1,15,000 crores, India is still facing unemployment to the extent of nearly 4 crores of its citizens. Even after spending 1,71,000 crores, the Sixth Plan too does not promise full employment. Unemployment does only demoralise the country.

The only answer for a largely populated country like India is to decentralise our industries, use maximum human energy and minimise such energies which are in short supply.

6. Efforts should be made to establish at least one village and an urban centre based on exploitation-free organisation of trade, agriculture, industry etc. Apart from the fact that all people in the area are properly fed, clothed, housed and educated, they will occasionally meet to take decisions and will live like one family.

7. The Village Youths will organise Shanti Senas which will undertake to implement programmes that will develop the individual and the village to their full and, in times of need, also act as relief brigade.

8. Selected problems from villages are to be sent to respective institutions who can conduct research and promote a Rural Development Technology.

9. Workers engaged in constructive programmes would themselves have simple life style based on moral values.

CENTRAL CO-ORDINATION COMMITTEE

Friend, Philosopher & Guide	...	...	Kumari Vimala Thakar
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- | | | |
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Without Comments

Compiled by R. N. Gupta

Spending Spree

The Government is spending Rs. 200 crores on Asian games and Rs. 13 crores for a Headquarter for RAW. Can't this money be utilised for sinking tube-wells ?

(Charan Singh in India Today—Jan. 16-31 '81)

Socialist Politicians

In a list reportedly prepared by 213 of the politicians who have turned wealthy in office, it is said that apart from Jagjivan Ram, who is otherwise also known to be on the top, H. N. Bahuguna and Chandrajit Yadav figure quite high in the first ten—interesting light on politicians preaching Socialism.

(New Delhi—January 5-12, 1981)

Ministerial Perks

According to a Finance Ministry source, it costs the Nation over Rs. 75,000/- a month to maintain a Union Minister and Rs. 50,000/- a month, a State Minister. The 49 Union Ministers at present and 482 in States cost the Nation Rs. 36 crores annually—half of what the UGC spends on maintaining 120 Universities in which 35 lakh students study. Although Ministers' salaries are not high, their perks are astounding.

Even a State Minister gets:

- Tax Free salary
- Chauffer driven car with unlimited petrol
- Two Private Secretaries and two Assistants who mostly attend to Minister's domestic chores
- Two peons, one guard at home, one gardener and a PRO.
- An air-conditioned office and Rs. 10,000/- for renovation
- An air-conditioned room in a 4 bed-roomed house at nominal rent
- Free telephones with STD
- Free medical facilities for self and family
- Four 1st class Railway tickets for official and private travel

According to an estimate over 500 cars, as many spacious houses, 1000 phones, 1200 Policemen, 4000 PAs and 200 crores worth of property is used by Ministers.

(*India Today*—16-31 Jan. '81)

Inside Poland

The best seller in Poland today is a 23 page underground publication titled 'The Citizen and the Security Service Manual of Social Life in the People's Republic of Poland'. It carries practical instructions on how to stand up to interrogation by the Secret Police.

(*Organiser*, 8.3.81)

THE PROBLEM OF GOODNESS

One of the best sermons I have ever heard was delivered by a preacher in a little country church. He said : "People talk to me about the problem of evil, but I will tell you an even greater problem : the problem of goodness. How do you account for the fact that in such a world as this there should be so much self-sacrifice, so much unselfishness, so much love?"

—Bruce Barton

THE SUPREME FULFILMENT IN SPIRITUALITY

Sri Aurobindo

In spirituality then would lie our ultimate, our only hope for the perfection whether of the individual or of the communal man; not the spirit which for its separate satisfaction turns away from the earth and her works, but that greater spirit which surpasses and yet accepts and fulfils them. A spirituality that would take up into itself man's rationalism, aestheticism, ethicism, vitalism, corporeality, his aspiration towards knowledge, his attraction towards beauty, his need of love, his urge towards perfection, his demand for power and fullness of life and being, a spirituality that would reveal to these ill-accorded forces their divine sense and the conditions of their godhead, reconcile them all to each other, illumine to the vision of each the way which they now tread in half-lights, and shadows, in blindness or with a deflected sight, is a power which even man's too self-sufficient reason can accept or may at least be brought one day to accept as sovereign and to see in it its own supreme light, its own infinite source.

The free rule, that is to say, the predominant lead, control and influence of the developed spiritual man—not the half-spiritualised priest, saint or prophet or the raw religionist—is our hope for a divine guidance of the race. A spiritualised society can alone bring about a reign of individual harmony and communal happiness; or, in words which, though liable to abuse by the reason and the passions, are still the most expressive we can find, a new kind of theocracy, the kingdom of God upon earth, a theocracy which shall be the government of mankind by the Divine in the hearts and minds of men.

Man's road to spiritual supermanhood will be open when he declares boldly that all he has yet developed, including the intellect of which he is so rightly and yet so vainly proud, are now no longer sufficient for him, and that to uncase, discover, set free this greater Light within shall be henceforward his pervading preoccupation. Then will his philosophy, art, science, ethics, social existence, vital pursuits be no longer an exercise of mind and life, done for themselves, carried in a circle, but a means for the discovery of a greater Truth behind mind and life and for the bringing of its power into our human existence. We shall be on the right road to become ourselves, to find our true law of perfection, to live our true, satisfied existence in our real being and divine nature.

The AWAKENING

The Future

My faith in the future, though somewhat shaken, is not destroyed. If I sometimes doubt that man will achieve his mortal potentialities, I never doubt that he can.

All men cannot be masters, but none need be a slave. We cannot cast out pain from the world, but needless suffering we can. Tragedy will be with us in some degree as long as there is life, but misery we can banish. Injustice will raise its head in the best of all possible worlds, but tyranny we can conquer. Evil will invade some men's hearts, intolerance will twist some men's minds, but decency is a more common human attribute and it can be made to prevail in our daily lives.

I believe all this, because I believe above all else in reason—in the power of the human mind to cope with the problems of life. Because I place my trust in reason, I place it in the individual. There is no madness in crowds from which the wisest, caught up in their ranks, are not immune.

I have known, as who has not, personal disappointments and despair. But always the thought of tomorrow has buoyed me up. I have looked to the future all my life. I still do. I still believe that with courage and intelligence we can make the future bright with fulfillment.

—Bernard M. Baruch

The AWAKENING

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LET MY COUNTRY AWAKE

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
 Where knowledge is free;
 Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow
 domestic walls;
 Where words come out from the depth of truth;
 Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
 Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary
 desert sand of dead habit;
 Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought
 and action—
 Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

—*Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941)*

The Awakening

Monthly Journal of the Lok Sevak Sangh, a non-party, non-power seeking organisation of voluntary constructive workers, constituted by Servants of the People Society, Delhi Branch, and dedicated to the service of the Indian people.

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Letter from the Editor

Dear Reader,

I consider it to be a great honour to take over as Editor of "The Awakening" from this issue from Shri S. D. Sharma, who devoted all his energy and talent in giving a very good start to this venture. He spared no effort to establish the magazine as a communication between selfless voluntary workers, and the discussion of issues of topical and social importance. A magazine like Awakening, even with its limited circulation, has an important role to play in providing a medium for thinking for zealous voluntary workers. We are all grateful to Shri Sharma for the efforts he put in to establish the magazine and to give it the present shape. I do hope that I will be able to keep up the traditions created by him, and under the inspiring leadership of respected Sevak Rām ji and with my very small group of voluntary co-workers the magazine will make further progress.

It will be a great privilege for me and my colleagues to get a feed back from our readers, and if that grows we can even allot a page for that purpose. The opinions of our readers and social workers will be of great value to us, particularly as the magazine is associated with the Servants of the People Society, which was founded by Lala Lajpat Rai and inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi himself in 1921. There could not be a better association for this magazine. I and my colleagues earnestly hope that we will have the strength to work hard to ensure that the magazine grows fast and reaches all hues of voluntary social workers. We are also keen that the magazine gets to various parts of the country and voluntary workers get the views or commentaries of reputed writers on current problems; and we get back in return their views or the description of their experiences for being shared with others. A chain of thinking is to be created on the social front and that is our great ambition.

Here I would like to bring specially to the notice of the reader, Mahatma Gandhi's great saying printed at the end of the editorial. He wanted the thinking and cultures of other people to be available to him and his countrymen. He did not want to lead a life of isolation. He

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wanted to study the lives of other peoples and their cultures in order to get at the truth. I may venture to say that in this approach he represented the true spirit of India and herein lies the greatness of our country.

One more point, before I close and that is to bring to the notice of the reader, the very frequent talk of the falling standards of the socio-political life of the country. No journal or newspaper is missing an opportunity to write on this subject and no meeting of friends or a large political gathering leaves this subject untouched. Everyone talks of falling standards in all aspects of our life. Examples are given, which range from a municipal tax inspector accepting bribes to a very senior officer acting under duress or carrying out wrong orders to get some advantage. The village patwari and the bus-conductor doing the wrong thing are taken as a part of the accepted system. The heavy rise in prices, the rapid growth of population, the spectre of unemployment staring us in our face and everyone trying to play foul with the larger interests of the nation are only some of the symptoms of the malice. There is no part of the nation's life, which cannot be criticised effectively. The blame for all this can very well be placed on the shoulders of the leaders, as they are the people who are setting the standards of conduct through their lives or behaviour. But in this context I would like to ask an important question. Can the common man in a situation of this type play a constructive role? Can he stand up and not accept the unjust demands of others? Why not! And this is the great work that social workers have to perform. They have to attend to the needy, render all help to them and above all train the people to fight the evil at all levels. It is the common man who, in the final analysis, can improve the atmosphere and create a respectable social welfare state.

—Y. R. Mehta

I do not want my house to be walled in on all sides and my windows to be stuffed. I want the cultures of all the lands to be blown about my house as freely as possible. But I refuse to be blown off my feet by any. I refuse to live in other people's houses as an interloper, a beggar or a slave.

— M. K. Gandhi

Administrative Challenges of the Eighties

Dr. J.N. Khosla*

My anxious concern is to discuss the challenges of India's administrative problems of this decade. We are in the midst of an extraordinary era of change and transformation—change at an ever-accelerating speed and its character unprecedented. Knowledge today is more vulnerable to change and obsolescence than ever before.

Natural sciences and technology have released powerful forces which have serious and far-reaching consequences on our lives, our values, traditions and culture, established norms and ideas. The resulting imbalances and maladjustments have serious sociological and psychological impact. We could hope to generate the capacity to meet such challenges, but we have neither the means nor the techniques to predict with any exactitude their nature, or socio-economic consequences. Indeed it would be hazardous to predict the future. From the experience of the recent years, and our knowledge of changes in the offing, however, we may venture to project ourselves into the future, and identify some of the main factors which are likely to influence the emerging pattern of our public administration in this decade.

The possible challenges to the administration in the eighties may be divided into two main categories :

- (1) Those which arise from the changes in the social, economic and political environment, in which the administration operates, and
- (2) Those which are internal to the administration itself.

* A former President of the Indian Political Science Association, an academician, an administrator and a lawyer. He was our ambassador to a number of countries.

Some of the obvious and important environmental changes which we could expect and which would increase the complexity of public administration are :

1. The evolution of politics in our country : Our changing political environment, particularly in the States, is a serious debilitating factor in our administration and its effectiveness.

Our political and social management has failed to be responsive to the well-recognized moral rights of our people to basic human needs. A class of politicians, and businessmen, farmers and even labour leaders has emerged who have a stake in corrupt practices. This has seriously undermined public confidence in the governmental institutions. Though we are nowhere near the stage when Peter Drucker, of course, in a lighter vein referring to the American scene could say "our love affair with the Government is over, although we keep the old mistress around".

Bureaucracy has become a term of abuse. Only a determined leadership—political and administrative—can help us steer clear of illegitimate party and sectional interests and ameliorate the situation. That public administration has to be impartial, does not imply it should be neutral and value-free. It has to be sensitive to the need for economy and efficiency and committed to the Constitution. This is not easy however, when power over transfers, promotions, confirmations and suspension can be misused by the political bosses for personal and party-ends.

2. The growing agitational approach to our problems will no doubt make the task of administration even more complex. Issues would tend to be settled by the ability to organise processions and demonstrations rather than on the strength of argument or their merit.

3. Continued rapid growth of population will increase pressure on every aspect of our administration. The rising demand for food, schools, social security and other essential services, and the need for mounting bigger and more effective programme of family planning will add to the already heavy load on the public services.

4. Growth of urbanisation and industrialisation, without corresponding development in the economy, will further deteriorate the

quality of life, unless a herculian effort is made to regulate this growth to provide increasing facilities and services. This would add to the pressure on administration. The situation is likely to be further complicated by the rise in unemployment and inflation, poverty and squalor, disease and delinquency, mounting social unrest and worsening law and order conditions, continued uneven spread of benefits of development and increasing public pressure for change pose a serious threat to political and administrative stability.

5. The increasing role of the State in public enterprise is generally accepted as a condition precedent for accelerated development in countries like ours with mixed economies. The existing organisational forms of public enterprises are proving to be inadequate and are coming under heavy criticism. New experiments are being called for. A problem which has already emerged and is bound to become more complex and difficult in the future is to ensure reconciling public accountability with entrepreneurial management. Parliamentary control is becoming more exacting and tends to inhibit initiative and risk-taking, so essential for success in business. Lack of control on the other hand could make the management complacent and even encourage mal-practices. This dilemma will have to be resolved.

Increasing state participation would also raise the complicated problem of resource investment, that is, adequate capital investment and financial liquidity, for these enterprises. How is this to be done : through government budget, or through finance corporations or holding companies ? Each method would have its strong as well as weak points. Again what would be the rational criteria for investment ? The enterprises would surely be expected to raise the unproductivity and profitability to the level of efficient private companies and even multinational corporations. But would profitability be a sound enough criterion for further investment ?

Further, to maintain financial discipline and solvency would be difficult unless pricing policies would cover the costs of production in both public and private enterprises. If, in any case, the government wishes to keep the prices below costs, the subsidy required should be clearly provided in its budget. This should be particularly so in the public enterprises for regional development. Further to raise productivity in these enterprises, increasing use will have to be made of such

innovative devices as "worker self-management" and decentralisation of responsibilities.

6. Explosion of science and technology would certainly have far-reaching effect on the science and practice of public administration. To exemplify this I would confine myself to five major areas :

First, administrative structures and procedures, information processing and mechanisation of routine procedure are the obvious examples. Increasing and selective use of computers would promote administrative efficiency. But this could also aggravate labour problems.

Secondly, a basic need for policy making is a scientific information system and methodology which can provide without undue delay information concerning economic, social, scientific, technological and other relevant factors to the decision maker. However, additional information and scientific methodology by itself cannot ensure good policy-making. This will depend on whether the process that is designed to make public policy, has the inherent capacity to evaluate the possible policy options, ensure conformity to national interests, and to take quick decisions.

Thirdly, science would surely influence legislation and even constitutional development and, therefore, administration by the opportunities it opens up for increased exploitation of natural resources, improved communication—net-works, rapid industrialisation, growth of agriculture and so on. In policy formulation relating to the environment, the development of energy, population planning, mass housing and others, the impact of science and technology will be great on our administrative institutions. Even in foreign policy with the growing inter-dependence of nations, science would have an increasing impact on such complex problems as the Law of the Seas, sharing of resources, remote sensing, disarmament, space research, multinationals, international trade, and communications and even on the development of a New International Economic Order. These issues are becoming increasingly complex. At present, our stand on many of them is of necessity influenced by the scientifically advanced countries. We are thus psychologically still dependent on the big powers.

Fourthly, administrative capability will have to be developed to harness science and technology, to accelerate development, and to make India self-reliant even in science and technology.

Fifthly, we still have a generalist staffing pattern in administration and induction of scientists has been slow. In the future, we would need an increasing number of scientists to provide more sophisticated advice to the decision-makers. This would sharpen the problem of the Generalist Vs. the Specialist, which looked at closely is, in fact, meaningless. Mere scientific expertise should not entitle one to make policy decisions. An administrator must have deep enough insight into human nature, a broad vision, training and experience to understand and appreciate technical problems that he may have to handle. He must have the capacity to sift and evaluate options, be sensitive to socio-economic realities and political environment. He need not be a scientist himself. Of course, a scientist, like a non-scientist can develop himself for policy formulation. In such a case he could even have an edge over the non-scientist, but not necessarily so. Miss Terisa Turner in her studies of the Nigerian Oil Industry has pointed out that the specialist could counter formulations submitted by multinationals but the generalist would find it convenient to operate within these formulations. Explosion in scientific knowledge and technology, and revolutionary changes in economics are inevitably increasing the complexity and variety of problems. An administrator, whether a generalist or a scientist, would need to have managerial skills, capacity for planning, programming and for implementing plans which are often multi-disciplinary, multipurpose, multi-functional, and even multi-national, and scheduled over long periods with defined objectives.

One could multiply examples of administrative changes as a consequence of changing environment. However, I should now turn to challenges to the administration arising from within itself in the coming years. Briefly these will emerge mainly from heightened internal stresses and strains due to expansion of governmental responsibilities and functions and with it the scale of organisation as well as conditions of work. There is, already, emergence of new functional cadres, proliferation of personnel, lowering of standards of efficiency, morale and integrity. New administrative agencies have been created, mainly on the basis of functional and geographical specialisation. Excessive specialisation, however, is proving to be

counter productive. The need for economy and streamlining the expanding administration in the eighties would demand strategies for renewal of organisations on a continuing basis.

The growth of unionism in the services which is still not too strong, would certainly create situations of confrontation with the political leadership. Strike, even though banned in many of the public service system are becoming powerful weapons to secure higher salaries and better conditions of service. As this would affect productivity, the problem would need urgent radical solution.

Another problem which is likely to assume serious proportions within the administration is that of centralisation and decentralisation at all levels. Planners and managers of complex systems ask for centralisation of authority. Decentralisation, they argue, defuses responsibility. On the other hand the growing pressures for popular participation and equitable distribution of resources strengthen the demand for decentralisation. Indeed it is argued with considerable force that popular participation would mobilise resources and make for their effective use in plan implementation. Even though centralisation and decentralisation should be regarded as complementary from the overall national point of view, tensions are bound to grow.

But the real point which touches the core of administration and its effectiveness is going to be the problem of its reform. Organisation and procedure of administrative instruments seem inadequate to cope with the demands on them. The need to experiment with new forms is bound to increase. Several commissions and expert committees have produced plethora of monumental reports most of which, however, have remained unimplemented. There are many reasons for this but the two most relevant here are :

(1) Traditional approaches to organisational change are generally fragmented in character. They have failed to look at the whole system and are, therefore, inadequate for the task.

(2) Traditional approaches fail to appreciate that organisational functioning, behaviour and effectiveness are contingent upon their

surroundings, both internal and external. It is obvious that organisational behaviour can be best understood when viewed as occurring in a system of inter-dependent forces, such as leadership, style, work condition, socio-cultural environment. Because these forces are inter-related a change in one produces a change in others. They must be so integrated that they do not work at cross purposes to the organisational goals. To achieve the purposes of reform we must deal with the organisation in its totality, that is, develop a systems approach. In this process the top levels of the management in the organisation must be intimately involved. This would not only break down sheer inertia and resistance, but also, involve them in the organisational development process as active partners.

From the brief scenario of the eighties it is obvious that we shall be facing an increasingly difficult and complex situation. A heavy responsibility will be on the shoulders of our top leadership—political as well as administrative. The dimensions of the changes required, sheer scale of the factors of such changes affecting us sector by sector, in population, employment, rates of urbanisation and what not, and the inadequacy of our present processes and structures for coping with the situation would indeed call for great ingenuity and resourcefulness. Above all we must get out of the morass of the crisis of character which have sapped our vitality and blunted our social instincts.

To the administrative leadership in our country, I cannot do better than quote Signor Andres Caso, President of the Organising Committee at the inaugural ceremony of the 16th International Congress of Administrative Sciences.

"Do we have the sensibility to understand that behind each number there is a human being, behind each demand there is cry, asking for better living conditions? Could we realise that while we are thinking of technically desirable solutions, in highly sophisticated models that demand time for their application,

there are still groups that cannot afford that time, that are demanding an immediate solution. Because for these men and women time represents death, hunger, disease or violence...
.....They require not the optimum solution, but rather the best feasible solution."

FULNESS OF LIFE

To give kindness costs nothing;
To be gracious gives us charm;
To be loving brings affection;
To be thoughtful prevents harm.

These four traits bring life a fulness,
Fulness which brings pleasure, too.
Through these traits we find God working,
To make our lives both tried and true.

—E. W. Hill

Synopsis of the talks given by Vimalaji in Gujarat and Rajasthan :

If we Change, the Country will Change

Vimala Thakar

We have set out on a "People's Pilgrimage" through three States of India—Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, visiting mainly the small neglected towns. You may wonder why we left the peace and solitude of Mount Abu to travel in this way intensively for three months. The main reason is that for a number of years I have been observing with concern the moral fibre of the country deteriorating and in recent times we have reached a crisis like situation. Therefore, I alongwith my colleagues felt urgent need to be with the people to share with them our concern over this crisis in character and to remind each one of the Divinity that lies within us and the purpose of life. Though India is the largest democracy in the world, which means we have a government of the people, by the people and for the people, yet there are no people in the true sense of the word to uphold this democratic freedom. That is, none truly expressing the complete integrated nature of man. Man in the progress of evolution has developed a mental faculty and if evolution is to progress and not regress as is the danger now, then man has to live by his understanding. That is, he grasps an idea with his mind and accepts it in his heart. He speaks what he thinks and he carries out what he says. Right now we do not have the discipline or courage to live our understanding. We think one thing, say something else and act in another manner. These aspects of our life are hardly ever integrated, such that we cannot trust each other or trust each other's word.

Every field of social and political life is ridden with corruption, injustice, dishonesty and anti-social behaviour. Though there may be a few who indulge in such activities, it affects the whole society because there are none with the courage to stand up and speak up against such

anti-social behaviour. We are bowed down by fear and cowardliness and do not realise that the wrong-doer alone is not a sinner but he who silently and passively observes the sin is also participant in the wrong act.

The country right now is divided into numerous sections based on caste or class or religion, and therefore, there is no Indian to be found anywhere. Besides dividing ourselves physically by caste and language the psyche of the Indian is also divided. Psychologically we behave as schizophrenics. For on the one hand we think of ourselves as very religious and spiritual minded people; we go to the temples, read the philosophers and quote the scriptures, but in our heart of hearts we are attracted to the material world and all the comforts and pleasures it has to offer. We are not willing to acknowledge or face this fact, which makes us divided within and being torn in this conflict we do not achieve anything in this world or the other. We do not have faith in God or the scriptures we quote, our real faith and security is in money and the bank balance; again a fact we are not ready to face. The country can only progress if it takes a stand one way or the other. Either lock the temple doors, shut the books and put all your energies in attaining material goods and comforts or truly live a spiritual life and so fulfil the destiny of India of being a Beacon of Light for the world.

As ordinary citizens of the country what can we do? First we have to realise that we are the country and if we change, the country will change, so we set about changing and building up our own character. Thus we provide a basis for the divinity within to unfold. It will express itself in our acceptance of the responsibility for the welfare of our community and town. We stop waiting for others, be they social workers or government officials to do things for us. We must take the initiative in our own hands and do what is necessary.

It is better in prayer to have a heart without words than words without a heart.

—M. K. Gandhi

Second Bhimsen Sachar Memorial Lecture: Onslaughts on the Constitution—IV

N. A. Palkhivala

Now I would strongly urge that a very vocal and articulate public opinion must be built up in this country to prevent even an endeavour to have the Minerva Mills case reviewed. There is no provision of law under which such a review application can be filed. There is no provision of law, either in the Supreme Court Rules or anywhere else and as I told the Supreme Court, suppose the citizen had lost this case and the citizen had asked for a review; would you have entertained such a ridiculous application? Why should it be entertained because the litigant happens to be a government? There is no answer to this particular line of argument.

The Parliament of 1971 ended in 1977. What are the other amendments it attempted to pass? I wish people would know what Parliament is capable of doing. Another amendment it attempted to pass was called the 32nd Amendment Bill. Luckily it did not become law for a variety of other reasons and I will not go into that Bill. And mind you this is a Constitutional Amendment Bill introduced in Parliament — that if a Member of Parliament wants to vote according to his conscience — every Member of Parliament, as you know, has to take an oath of allegiance and true faith in the Constitution, when he assumes his office as a Member of Parliament. If a member honestly feels that the constitutional amendment bill like the 42nd Amendment which is introduced is a breach of the oath, it is a breach of the solemn vow against the measure. I can understand his being expelled from the party, but he is to be disqualified from sitting in that Parliament. In other words, he goes home. Why, because he has the courage of his conviction. Further, if the man does not even

vote against the Bill, but he abstains from voting. He says, "All right, I will not vote. My conscience does not permit me". Even then under the constitution he is to be disqualified from continuing to be a Member of Parliament. Such a ridiculous provision is unheard of in any other country of the world. It was sought to be passed by the 32nd amendment bill.

Another attempted amendment of the Constitution, the 41st Amendment Bill, which was actually passed by the Rajya Sabha in August, 1975, after the Emergency was declared, says this : That if any criminal, he may have committed dacoity, murder, theft, burglary or any crime; if after committing that crime, he has the good fortune to become either the President of India, the Prime Minister of India or the Governor of a State — mind you, even the Governor of a State which is an appointment in the pocket of the ruling party, then not only is the man immune from criminal proceedings during the tenure as the President, Prime Minister or the Governor; but for the rest of his life he is totally immune from all criminal liability. Suppose the man murders five of his political opponents and gets himself appointed as Governor of a State for seven days; then for the rest of his life he cannot be touched by the arm of the criminal law. The same kind of exception from civil liability also. Imagine the level of intelligence of our politicians who can make these solemn amendments of the Constitution, and I repeat the Rajya Sabha passed it actually, but because of certain other developments, the Lok Sabha did not come to pass it. If they can even think of passing such laws you can imagine how risky it is to give to their safe-keeping the future of the well-being of yourself, your children and your Constitution.

Look at the other laws which were passed by 1971 Parliament. They passed the law during the Emergency under which Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, Mr. Sevakram, Mr. Sharma (Mr. S. D. Sharma) and five others were imprisoned and more than a hundred thousand others were also imprisoned according to the records. There were others who were imprisoned and of whom there is no record. Now they were imprisoned under the law which says : No citizen of India shall be entitled to claim liberty on the ground of common law, natural law or rules of natural justice. India is the only country in the world whose Parliament ever passed such a barbaric law. They passed another law which says : No citizen shall be permitted to know the grounds

on which he is detained. I repeat the Parliament of India is the only Parliament of any democracy which has ever passed such a law. Even in totalitarian countries the man is just whisked away and put in jail, but at least they have the decency not to pass such a law.

So, while I give full marks to the 1971-77 Parliament for total frankness, I must say they had no notion whatsoever of public decency. They passed the third law which says : Even a court, even no public officer, shall be permitted — not compelled, leave aside the court compelling him — the public officer may have conscience enough to give the material to the court; even then he cannot do it. The words were : No public officer shall be permitted to give even to a court of law the materials on which a citizen is detained. No Parliament of any other country has passed such a ridiculous law, that if a man is ordered to be released by a Court of law, when he leaves the court room, he can be re-arrested. No country of the world has ever passed such a law — such a barbaric law.

This is what the Indian Parliament is capable of doing. Are you going to allow the basic structure of your Constitution to be at the tender mercies of such elected representatives. It is shocking beyond words. It makes us hold down our heads in shame. Even in the British days — they were the foreign rulers, but such laws were not passed. Let it be bluntly said to their credit, such laws were never passed by any foreign rulers of India, but they were passed by the elected representatives of our own people.

I feel very strongly about it because I find time and again this nonsense is sought to be propagated: the myth that the will of the Parliament is the will of the people. Where is the will of the Parliament to be equated with the will of the people? If it were so, the Parliament which approved of the Emergency, passed the 42nd amendment, passed the savage laws which I referred to, those members would have been returned to power but in 1977 they were not returned to power, a totally different party came to power. So these amendments are amendments which do not at all allow themselves to be reconciled with the spirit, the Scheme of the Constitution and it is a most dangerous kind of onslaught on the Constitution.

Non Party Constructive Workers Convention

NEWS LETTER

T. R. Kapoor

Secretary, Central Coordination Committee

(A) RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In pursuance of the resolution passed at the Non-Party Constructive Workers Get-together held in Delhi from 13th to 15th March, 1981, it was decided to undertake following rural development work in Hassanpur Village situated in Delhi State :

- (i) A Charitable Medical Clinic has been established and is rendering useful service to the villagers and other villages in its environs. In addition, an ayurvedic clinic has also been opened in the same village. In order to provide regular medical facilities arrangements have been made for residential accommodation for the doctor in-charge of the clinic in the village itself.

The ultimate aim is to establish a 20-bed hospital alongside the medical/ayurvedic clinics. Work of acquisition of land required to build this hospital has already been taken in hand.

- (ii) A dedicated social worker is being stationed in the village for proper organization and implementation of the selected rural development programmes.
- (iii) To improve living conditions of the villagers, it is proposed to instal bio-gas plants in the village; action has already been taken to instal two such plants.
- (iv) A rural Development Committee has been formed under the convenership of Km. Jagtiani. After detailed discussions in the meeting held on the 29th April, 1981 it was decided that Km. Jagtiani and Dr. Rajendra Prasad should carry out a study in depth of the additional development programmes that could be taken up in Hassanpur.

(B) Dr. G. M. Modak, Founder Member Trustee of Sahyadri Vikas Mandal, Khanapur, Taluka-Haveli, Distt. Pune, visited Lajpat Bhawan and held discussions with the Chairman. Dr. Modak was awarded degree in medicine in 1939 and he thereafter decided to take up social service in Khanapur, a small village situated at the foothills of the historic Singhgarh Fort, 15 miles away from Pune. The entire area around Khanapur was most under developed. He decided to concentrate his social work in Khanapur and taught its inhabitants a 'New Religion of Self-upliftment by Self-help' with the active cooperation of local villagers and good wishes of the people all around. Dr. Modak achieved commendable success. On seeing vast improvements in Khanapur, people from the nearby villages in the Mose-Mutha Valley came forward for similar development work to be undertaken in their villages. As a consequence of this, Sahyadri Vikas Mandal was formed to carry out development work at grass-root level on basis of "Self help".

The development work done in the valley has won appreciation from foreign donor agencies who have given voluntary donations to execute projects for which government help was not available.

Sahyadri Vikas Mandal at Khanapur has now a fullfledged and experienced staff of Project Officer, Agricultural Adviser and Village Level Workers. The Mandal is being assisted in Agricultural Engineering by reputed firms such as Kirloskars Consultants Ltd. and M/s. G. Sam & Co.

Given below is a list of programmes which the Mandal proposes to take up to generate employment potential and to improve the standard of living of people residing in Mose-Mutha Valley.

I. Agriculture

- (a) Lift Irrigation Projects in 12 villages.
- (b) Establishment of Agro-Service cum Supply Centre.
- (c) Afforestation — Establishment of Nursery Unit for Horticultural and Forest and medicinal plants.
- (d) Agricultural Education in respect of Crop Planning, Dairying and Poultry.

II. Public Health

- (a) Health Education.
- (b) Augmentation of wells for drinking water and other sources of safe drinking water facility.
- (c) Provision of community-latrines and bio-gas and gobar-gas units.
- (d) Mass Education including Family Planning and Nutrition.
- (e) Facility of village hospital.

III. Education

- (a) Extension of high school into rural college.
- (b) Vocational education useful for village industry.

IV. Small Industrial Units

- (a) Manufacturing of soap, bricks, safety-matches, carpets, bakery products, tailoring, etc.

(C) RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN GONDA DISTRICT

Shri Nanaji Deshmukh also visited Lajpat Bhawan and held discussions with the Chairman on Rural Development work being done

under his stewardship in Gonda Distt. of Uttar Pradesh. With a dedicated band of 35/40 young workers and cooperation received from local villagers this Unit has changed the face of most of the drought affected areas in the Gonda District. We highlight below some of the achievements of the Unit in a period of about 2 years.

Minor Irrigation Projects

1. Borings completed	...	27516 Nos.
2. Diesel Pumpsets installed	...	14393 "
3. Electric Tubewells commissioned	...	481 "
4. Irrigated Area	...	2,24,002 Acres
5. Area under multiple cropping	...	1,99,684 "
6. Area under two crops per year	...	1,58,353 "
7. Area under three crops per year	...	44,331 "
8. Families benefited	...	92,355 Nos.
9. Villages saturated in irrigation	...	839 "
10. Trees planted	...	2,23,000 "
11. Length of roads constructed/ improved	...	1,152 Kms.
12. Facilities for drinking water		
(a) New wells	...	1,318 Nos.
(b) Wells repaired/renovated	...	3,330 "
(c) Hand pumps installed	...	1,470 "

(D) MEETING

The next meeting of the Central Coordination Committee of the Non-Party Constructive Workers, will be held at Dharamsala (H. P.) from 10th June to 15th June, 1981.

Following subjects are proposed to be discussed at this meeting :

- Plan for Rural Development Work as per Villager's Note entitled "From GRAMDAN TO GRAM SWARAJ".
- Scheme of Training National Missionaries.

Public Grievances Committee

The activities of the Public Grievances Committee have been progressively on the increase. The following topics of public interest were taken up by the Committee with appropriate authorities :

- Grant of Dearness Allowance to pensioners at par with serving Government employees;

- (b) Regulation of street light hours in order to avoid wastage of electricity;
- (c) Grant of free medical facilities to Punjab Government pensioners residing in Delhi like their colleagues settled in the Punjab;
- (d) Removal of debris/waste material near the compound wall around tubewell No. 31 in Lajpat Nagar.

It is encouraging to state that some of the issues taken up by the Committee earlier got completed with success and others are in various stages of progress.

Some times people approach us with problems which do not strictly fall within the jurisdiction of this Committee. However, keeping in view the overall human aspect, all requests are duly entertained. After making a full assessment about guidance/assistance to the people concerned, consistent with our resources. While doing so, every care is taken to ensure that the Committee is not involved in any controversy or criticism.

Assistance to the handicapped/disabled persons

1981 being "The Year of The Disabled" L.S.S. has decided to make suitable contribution towards upliftment of the disabled, handicapped persons. For this purpose, a Committee has been formed and the following programme has been formulated :

- (a) To assist disabled persons in finding suitable avenues of employment;
- (b) Rehabilitation of poor/needy disabled persons by provision of artificial limbs;
- (c) Holding of seminars at regular intervals for disabled persons to determine the type of assistance required by them and the measures necessary for implementation.

News from the States

New Improved Qualities of Sugarcane

Large-scale multiplication is now in progress in respect of two sugarcane mutants developed at the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre. These are called TS-1, TS-8. These have been evaluated for content and crop stand by 20 sugar factories throughout the country.

Some of the factories have now undertaken multiplication of these mutants for nuclear seed production.

The All India Coordinated Research Programme (Sugarcane) of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the Department of Agriculture, Maharashtra are undertaking pre-release testing programmes of both these mutants.

Meanwhile, the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre has developed new improved cultures of groundnuts, mustard, sesame, rice, tur, moong and jute. These mutants are being tested at different agricultural universities and district level trials are also being arranged by the Union Ministry of Agriculture.

High Drop-out Rate in Medical Courses

Only 50 per cent of the medical students in the country pass the examinations for their medical degrees in normal time. Others clear the courses by putting additional time up to three years. This is revealed in a study conducted recently by the Institute of Applied Manpower Research—a Government aided research centre.

According to the study the drop-out rates are higher for male students and hostellers. About three-fourths of the drop-outs leave the MBBS course in the first year itself. The stagnation indices are quite high (22.9 per cent) for the 5½ MBBS course. In Dental Colleges 35

per cent of BDS (Bachelor of Dental Surgery) students pass the course in normal time. Another 43 per cent pass by putting one more year and the remaining by putting two to three additional years.

Rajasthan Tops in IRDP Implementation

In the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Rajasthan stands first in the country, according to information gathered by the State Government. As against a total allocation of Rs. 10.3 crores for Integrated Rural Development Programme in the State, approximately 11.2 crores were spent during 1980-81.

More than one lakh families have been brought above the poverty line through this programme.

Cultural Offices to be opened in Gulf Countries

The Government of India has accepted a proposal to open cultural offices in all the embassies of India in the Gulf states. The proposal was contained in a memorandum submitted to the Minister for External Affairs by some Indian citizens.

The memorandum laid emphasis on opening such offices on the ground that facilities like libraries and correspondence course by Indian universities be made available to the Indian citizens residing in the Gulf areas. Another reason given was that Governments in most of the Gulf countries do not allow any other religion other than Islam to be practised in public. Cultural links with India were, therefore considered necessary.

Courtesy—INFA

The most acceptable adoration in this world which a man can pay to his Creator is to discharge his duty faithfully toward his fellow-creatures, discarding passion and partiality and without distinction of friend or foe, relative or stranger.

—Akbar

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—Vimala Thakar

With compliments from :

HOTEL VISHRAM

NEAR HIGH COURT, ALLAHABAD

Dedicated to the ideals of Lok Sevak Sangh

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Sevakram

Signature of Publisher

The AWAKENING

Dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machines represented by the villagers scattered in the seven hundred thousand villages of India.

—M. K. Gandhi

I recognize no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions. They do not recognize his presence; I do. And, I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God, through the service of these millions.....

—M. K. Gandhi

Inconvenience to the readers is regretted as the April 1981 Issue of the Awakening could not be published due to unavoidable reasons.

—Editor

The AWAKENING

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Librarian
28/7/81

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow
domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary
desert sand of dead habits;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought
and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

—*Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941)*

The Awakening

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Letter from the Editor

Dear Reader,

I consider it to be a great honour to take over as Editor of "The Awakening" from this issue from Shri S. D. Sharma, who devoted all his energy and talent in giving a very good start to this venture. He spared no effort to establish the magazine as a communication between selfless voluntary workers, and the discussion of issues of topical and social importance. A magazine like Awakening, even with its limited circulation, has an important role to play in providing a medium for thinking for zealous voluntary workers. We are all grateful to Shri Sharma for the efforts he put in to establish the magazine and to give it the present shape. I do hope that I will be able to keep up the traditions created by him, and under the inspiring leadership of respected Sevak Ram ji and with my very small group of voluntary co-workers the magazine will make further progress.

It will be a great privilege for me and my colleagues to get a feed back from our readers, and if that grows we can even allot a page for that purpose. The opinions of our readers and social workers will be of great value to us, particularly as the magazine is associated with the Servants of the People Society, which was founded by Lala Lajpat Rai and inaugurated by Mahatma Gandhi himself in 1921. There could not be a better association for this magazine. I and my colleagues earnestly hope that we will have the strength to work hard to ensure that the magazine grows fast and reaches all hues of voluntary social workers. We are also keen that the magazine gets to various parts of the country and voluntary workers get the views or commentaries of reputed writers on current problems; and we get back in return their views or the description of their experiences for being shared with others. A chain of thinking is to be created on the social front and that is our great ambition.

Here I would like to bring specially to the notice of the reader, Mahatma Gandhi's great saying printed at the end of the editorial. He wanted the thinking and cultures of other people to be available to him and his countrymen. He did not want to lead a life of isolation. He

Some of the obvious and important environmental changes which we could expect and which would increase the complexity of public administration are :

1. The evolution of politics in our country : Our changing political environment, particularly in the States, is a serious debilitating factor in our administration and its effectiveness.

Our political and social management has failed to be responsive to the well-recognized moral rights of our people to basic human needs. A class of politicians, and businessmen, farmers and even labour leaders has emerged who have a stake in corrupt practices. This has seriously undermined public confidence in the governmental institutions. Though we are nowhere near the stage when Peter Drucker, of course, in a lighter vein referring to the American scene could say "our love affair with the Government is over, although we keep the old mistress around".

Bureaucracy has become a term of abuse. Only a determined leadership—political and administrative—can help us steer clear of illegitimate party and sectional interests and ameliorate the situation. That public administration has to be impartial, does not imply it should be neutral and value-free. It has to be sensitive to the need for economy and efficiency and committed to the Constitution. This is not easy however, when power over transfers, promotions, confirmations and suspension can be misused by the political bosses for personal and party-ends.

2. The growing agitational approach to our problems will no doubt make the task of administration even more complex. Issues would tend to be settled by the ability to organise processions and demonstrations rather than on the strength of argument or their merit.

3. Continued rapid growth of population will increase pressure on every aspect of our administration. The rising demand for food, schools, social security and other essential services, and the need for mounting bigger and more effective programme of family planning will add to the already heavy load on the public services.

4. Growth of urbanisation and industrialisation, without corresponding development in the economy, will further deteriorate the

quality of life, unless a herculian effort is made to regulate this growth to provide increasing facilities and services. This would add to the pressure on administration. The situation is likely to be further complicated by the rise in unemployment and inflation, poverty and squalor, disease and delinquency, mounting social unrest and worsening law and order conditions, continued uneven spread of benefits of development and increasing public pressure for change pose a serious threat to political and administrative stability.

5. The increasing role of the State in public enterprise is generally accepted as a condition precedent for accelerated development in countries like ours with mixed economies. The existing organisational forms of public enterprises are proving to be inadequate and are coming under heavy criticism. New experiments are being called for. A problem which has already emerged and is bound to become more complex and difficult in the future is to ensure reconciling public accountability with entrepreneurial management. Parliamentary control is becoming more exacting and tends to inhibit initiative and risk-taking, so essential for success in business. Lack of control on the other hand could make the management complacent and even encourage mal-practices. This dilemma will have to be resolved.

Increasing state participation would also raise the complicated problem of resource investment, that is, adequate capital investment and financial liquidity, for these enterprises. How is this to be done : through government budget, or through finance corporations or holding companies ? Each method would have its strong as well as weak points. Again what would be the rational criteria for investment ? The enterprises would surely be expected to raise the unproductivity and profitability to the level of efficient private companies and even multinational corporations. But would profitability be a sound enough criterion for further investment ?

Further, to maintain financial discipline and solvency would be difficult unless pricing policies would cover the costs of production in both public and private enterprises. If, in any case, the government wishes to keep the prices below costs, the subsidy required should be clearly provided in its budget. This should be particularly so in the public enterprises for regional development. Further to raise productivity in these enterprises, increasing use will have to be made of such

innovative devices as "worker self-management" and decentralisation of responsibilities.

6. Explosion of science and technology would certainly have far-reaching effect on the science and practice of public administration. To exemplify this I would confine myself to five major areas :

First, administrative structures and procedures, information processing and mechanisation of routine procedure are the obvious examples. Increasing and selective use of computers would promote administrative efficiency. But this could also aggravate labour problems.

Secondly, a basic need for policy making is a scientific information system and methodology which can provide without undue delay information concerning economic, social, scientific, technological and other relevant factors to the decision maker. However, additional information and scientific methodology by itself cannot ensure good policy-making. This will depend on whether the process that is designed to make public policy, has the inherent capacity to evaluate the possible policy options, ensure conformity to national interests, and to take quick decisions.

Thirdly, science would surely influence legislation and even constitutional development and, therefore, administration by the opportunities it opens up for increased exploitation of natural resources, improved communication—net-works, rapid industrialisation, growth of agriculture and so on. In policy formulation relating to the environment, the development of energy, population planning, mass housing and others, the impact of science and technology will be great on our administrative institutions. Even in foreign policy with the growing inter-dependence of nations, science would have an increasing impact on such complex problems as the Law of the Seas, sharing of resources, remote sensing, disarmament, space research, multinationals, international trade; and communications and even on the development of a New International Economic Order. These issues are becoming increasingly complex. At present, our stand on many of them is of necessity influenced by the scientifically advanced countries. We are thus psychologically still dependent on the big powers.

Fourthly, administrative capability will have to be developed to harness science and technology, to accelerate development, and to make India self-reliant even in science and technology.

Fifthly, we still have a generalist staffing pattern in administration and induction of scientists has been slow. In the future, we would need an increasing number of scientists to provide more sophisticated advice to the decision-makers. This would sharpen the problem of the Generalist Vs. the Specialist, which looked at closely is, in fact, meaningless. Mere scientific expertise should not entitle one to make policy decisions. An administrator must have deep enough insight into human nature, a broad vision, training and experience to understand and appreciate technical problems that he may have to handle. He must have the capacity to sift and evaluate options, be sensitive to socio-economic realities and political environment. He need not be a scientist himself. Of course, a scientist, like a non-scientist can develop himself for policy formulation. In such a case he could even have an edge over the non-scientist, but not necessarily so. Miss Terisa Turner in her studies of the Nigerian Oil Industry has pointed out that the specialist could counter formulations submitted by multinationals but the generalist would find it convenient to operate within these formulations. Explosion in scientific knowledge and technology, and revolutionary changes in economics are inevitably increasing the complexity and variety of problems. An administrator, whether a generalist or a scientist, would need to have managerial skills, capacity for planning, programming and for implementing plans which are often multi-disciplinary, multipurpose, multi-functional, and even multi-national, and scheduled over long periods with defined objectives.

One could multiply examples of administrative changes as a consequence of changing environment. However, I should now turn to challenges to the administration arising from within itself in the coming years. Briefly these will emerge mainly from heightened internal stresses and strains due to expansion of governmental responsibilities and functions and with it the scale of organisation as well as conditions of work. There is, already, emergence of new functional cadres, proliferation of personnel, lowering of standards of efficiency, morale and integrity. New administrative agencies have been created, mainly on the basis of functional and geographical specialisation. Excessive specialisation, however, is proving to be

counter productive. The need for economy and streamlining the expanding administration in the eighties would demand strategies for renewal of organisations on a continuing basis.

The growth of unionism in the services which is still not too strong, would certainly create situations of confrontation with the political leadership. Strike, even though banned in many of the public service system are becoming powerful weapons to secure higher salaries and better conditions of service. As this would affect productivity, the problem would need urgent radical solution.

Another problem which is likely to assume serious proportions within the administration is that of centralisation and decentralisation at all levels. Planners and managers of complex systems ask for centralisation of authority. Decentralisation, they argue, defuses responsibility. On the other hand the growing pressures for popular participation and equitable distribution of resources strengthen the demand for decentralisation. Indeed it is argued with considerable force that popular participation would mobilise resources and make for their effective use in plan implementation. Even though centralisation and decentralisation should be regarded as complementary from the overall national point of view, tensions are bound to grow.

But the real point which touches the core of administration and its effectiveness is going to be the problem of its reform. Organisation and procedure of administrative instruments seem inadequate to cope with the demands on them. The need to experiment with new forms is bound to increase. Several commissions and expert committees have produced plethora of monumental reports most of which, however, have remained unimplemented. There are many reasons for this but the two most relevant here are :

- (1) Traditional approaches to organisational change are generally fragmented in character. They have failed to look at the whole system and are, therefore, inadequate for the task.

- (2) Traditional approaches fail to appreciate that organisational functioning, behaviour and effectiveness are contingent upon their

surroundings, both internal and external. It is obvious that organisational behaviour can be best understood when viewed as occurring in a system of inter-dependent forces, such as leadership, style, work condition, socio-cultural environment. Because these forces are inter-related a change in one produces a change in others. They must be so integrated that they do not work at cross purposes to the organisational goals. To achieve the purposes of reform we must deal with the organisation in its totality, that is, develop a systems approach. In this process the top levels of the management in the organisation must be intimately involved. This would not only break down sheer inertia and resistance, but also, involve them in the organisational development process as active partners.

From the brief scenario of the eighties it is obvious that we shall be facing an increasingly difficult and complex situation. A heavy responsibility will be on the shoulders of our top leadership—political as well as administrative. The dimensions of the changes required, sheer scale of the factors of such changes affecting us sector by sector, in population, employment, rates of urbanisation and what not, and the inadequacy of our present processes and structures for coping with the situation would indeed call for great ingenuity and resourcefulness. Above all we must get out of the morass of the crisis of character which have sapped our vitality and blunted our social instincts.

To the administrative leadership in our country, I cannot do better than quote Signor Andres Caso, President of the Organising Committee at the inaugural ceremony of the 16th International Congress of Administrative Sciences.

"Do we have the sensibility to understand that behind each number there is a human being, behind each demand there is cry, asking for better living conditions? Could we realise that while we are thinking of technically desirable solutions, in highly sophisticated models that demand time for their application,

there are still groups that cannot afford that time, that are demanding an immediate solution. Because for these men and women time represents death, hunger, disease or violence...
.....They require not the optimum solution, but rather the best feasible solution."

FULNESS OF LIFE

To give kindness costs nothing;
To be gracious gives us charm;
To be loving brings affection;
To be thoughtful prevents harm.

These four traits bring life a fulness,
Fulness which brings pleasure, too.
Through these traits we find God working,
To make our lives both tried and true.

—E. W. Hill

Synopsis of the talks given by Vimalaji in Gujarat and Rajasthan :

If we Change, the Country will Change

Vimala Thakar

We have set out on a "People's Pilgrimage" through three States of India—Gujarat, Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, visiting mainly the small neglected towns. You may wonder why we left the peace and solitude of Mount Abu to travel in this way intensively for three months. The main reason is that for a number of years I have been observing with concern the moral fibre of the country deteriorating and in recent times we have reached a crisis like situation. Therefore, I alongwith my colleagues felt urgent need to be with the people to share with them our concern over this crisis in character and to remind each one of the Divinity that lies within us and the purpose of life. Though India is the largest democracy in the world, which means we have a government of the people, by the people and for the people, yet there are no people in the true sense of the word to uphold this democratic freedom. That is, none truly expressing the complete integrated nature of man. Man in the progress of evolution has developed a mental faculty and if evolution is to progress and not regress as is the danger now, then man has to live by his understanding. That is, he grasps an idea with his mind and accepts it in his heart. He speaks what he thinks and he carries out what he says. Right now we do not have the discipline or courage to live our understanding. We think one thing, say something else and act in another manner. These aspects of our life are hardly ever integrated, such that we cannot trust each other or trust each other's word.

Every field of social and political life is ridden with corruption, injustice, dishonesty and anti-social behaviour. Though there may be a few who indulge in such activities, it affects the whole society because there are none with the courage to stand up and speak up against such

anti-social behaviour. We are bowed down by fear and cowardliness and do not realise that the wrong-doer alone is not a sinner but he who silently and passively observes the sin is also participant in the wrong act.

The country right now is divided into numerous sections based on caste or class or religion, and therefore, there is no Indian to be found anywhere. Besides dividing ourselves physically by caste and language the psyche of the Indian is also divided. Psychologically we behave as schizophrenics. For on the one hand we think of ourselves as very religious and spiritual minded people; we go to the temples, read the philosophers and quote the scriptures, but in our heart of hearts we are attracted to the material world and all the comforts and pleasures it has to offer. We are not willing to acknowledge or face this fact, which makes us divided within and being torn in this conflict we do not achieve anything in this world or the other. We do not have faith in God or the scriptures we quote, our real faith and security is in money and the bank balance; again a fact we are not ready to face. The country can only progress if it takes a stand one way or the other. Either lock the temple doors, shut the books and put all your energies in attaining material goods and comforts or truly live a spiritual life and so fulfil the destiny of India of being a Beacon of Light for the world.

As ordinary citizens of the country what can we do? First we have to realise that we are the country and if we change, the country will change, so we set about changing and building up our own character. Thus we provide a basis for the divinity within to unfold. It will express itself in our acceptance of the responsibility for the welfare of our community and town. We stop waiting for others, be they social workers or government officials to do things for us. We must take the initiative in our own hands and do what is necessary.

It is better in prayer to have a heart without words than words without a heart.

—M. K. Gandhi

Second Bhimsen Sachar Memorial Lecture: Onslaughts on the Constitution—IV

N. A. Palkhivala

Now I would strongly urge that a very vocal and articulate public opinion must be built up in this country to prevent even an endeavour to have the *Minerva Mills* case reviewed. There is no provision of law under which such a review application can be filed. There is no provision of law, either in the Supreme Court Rules or anywhere else and as I told the Supreme Court, suppose the citizen had lost this case and the citizen had asked for a review; would you have entertained such a ridiculous application? Why should it be entertained because the litigant happens to be a government? There is no answer to this particular line of argument.

The Parliament of 1971 ended in 1977. What are the other amendments it attempted to pass? I wish people would know what Parliament is capable of doing. Another amendment it attempted to pass was called the 32nd Amendment Bill. Luckily it did not become law for a variety of other reasons and I will not go into that Bill. And mind you this is a Constitutional Amendment Bill introduced in Parliament — that if a Member of Parliament wants to vote according to his conscience — every Member of Parliament, as you know, has to take an oath of allegiance and true faith in the Constitution, when he assumes his office as a Member of Parliament. If a member honestly feels that the constitutional amendment bill like the 42nd Amendment which is introduced is a breach of the oath, it is a breach of the solemn vow against the measure. I can understand his being expelled from the party, but he is to be disqualified from sitting in that Parliament. In other words, he goes home. Why, because he has the courage of his conviction. Further, if the man does not even

vote against the Bill, but he abstains from voting. He says, "All right, I will not vote. My conscience does not permit me". Even then under the constitution he is to be disqualified from continuing to be a Member of Parliament. Such a ridiculous provision is unheard of in any other country of the world. It was sought to be passed by the 32nd amendment bill.

Another attempted amendment of the Constitution, the 41st Amendment Bill, which was actually passed by the Rajya Sabha in August, 1975, after the Emergency was declared, says this : That if any criminal, he may have committed dacoity, murder, theft, burglary or any crime; if after committing that crime, he has the good fortune to become either the President of India, the Prime Minister of India or the Governor of a State — mind you, even the Governor of a State which is an appointment in the pocket of the ruling party, then not only is the man immune from criminal proceedings during the tenure as the President, Prime Minister or the Governor; but for the rest of his life he is totally immune from all criminal liability. Suppose the man murders five of his political opponents and gets himself appointed as Governor of a State for seven days; then for the rest of his life he cannot be touched by the arm of the criminal law. The same kind of exception from civil liability also. Imagine the level of intelligence of our politicians who can make these solemn amendments of the Constitution, and I repeat the Rajya Sabha passed it actually, but because of certain other developments, the Lok Sabha did not come to pass it. If they can even think of passing such laws you can imagine how risky it is to give to their safe-keeping the future of the well-being of yourself, your children and your Constitution.

Look at the other laws which were passed by 1971 Parliament. They passed the law during the Emergency under which Mr. Bhimsen Sachar, Mr. Sevakram, Mr. Sharma (Mr. S. D. Sharma) and five others were imprisoned and more than a hundred thousand others were also imprisoned according to the records. There were others who were imprisoned and of whom there is no record. Now they were imprisoned under the law which says : No citizen of India shall be entitled to claim liberty on the ground of common law, natural law or rules of natural justice. India is the only country in the world whose Parliament ever passed such a barbaric law. They passed another law which says : No citizen shall be permitted to know the grounds

on which he is detained. I repeat the Parliament of India is the only Parliament of any democracy which has ever passed such a law. Even in totalitarian countries the man is just whisked away and put in jail, but at least they have the decency not to pass such a law.

So, while I give full marks to the 1971-77 Parliament for total frankness, I must say they had no notion whatsoever of public decency. They passed the third law which says: Even a court, even no public officer, shall be permitted — not compelled, leave aside the court compelling him — the public officer may have conscience enough to give the material to the court; even then he cannot do it. The words were: No public officer shall be permitted to give even to a court of law the materials on which a citizen is detained. No Parliament of any other country has passed such a ridiculous law, that if a man is ordered to be released by a Court of law, when he leaves the court room, he can be re-arrested. No country of the world has ever passed such a law — such a barbaric law.

This is what the Indian Parliament is capable of doing. Are you going to allow the basic structure of your Constitution to be at the tender mercies of such elected representatives. It is shocking beyond words. It makes us hold down our heads in shame. Even in the British days — they were the foreign rulers, but such laws were not passed. Let it be bluntly said to their credit, such laws were never passed by any foreign rulers of India, but they were passed by the elected representatives of our own people.

I feel very strongly about it because I find time and again this nonsense is sought to be propagated: the myth that the will of the Parliament is the will of the people. Where is the will of the Parliament to be equated with the will of the people? If it were so, the Parliament which approved of the Emergency, passed the 42nd amendment, passed the savage laws which I referred to, those members would have been returned to power but in 1977 they were not returned to power, a totally different party came to power. So these amendments are amendments which do not at all allow themselves to be reconciled with the spirit, the Scheme of the Constitution and it is a most dangerous kind of onslaught on the Constitution.

Non Party Constructive Workers Convention

NEWS LETTER

T. R. Kapoor

Secretary, Central Coordination Committee

(A) RURAL DEVELOPMENT

In pursuance of the resolution passed at the Non-Party Constructive Workers Get-together held in Delhi from 13th to 15th March, 1981, it was decided to undertake following rural development work in Hassanpur Village situated in Delhi State :

- (i) A Charitable Medical Clinic has been established and is rendering useful service to the villagers and other villages in its environs. In addition, an ayurvedic clinic has also been opened in the same village. In order to provide regular medical facilities arrangements have been made for residential accommodation for the doctor in-charge of the clinic in the village itself.

The ultimate aim is to establish a 20-bed hospital alongside the medical/ayurvedic clinics. Work of acquisition of land required to build this hospital has already been taken in hand.

- (ii) A dedicated social worker is being stationed in the village for proper organization and implementation of the selected rural development programmes.
- (iii) To improve living conditions of the villagers, it is proposed to instal bio-gas plants in the village; action has already been taken to instal two such plants.
- (iv) A rural Development Committee has been formed under the convenership of Km. Jagtiani. After detailed discussions in the meeting held on the 29th April, 1981 it was decided that Km. Jagtiani and Dr. Rajendra Prasad should carry out a study in depth of the additional development programmes that could be taken up in Hassanpur.

(B) Dr. G. M. Modak, Founder Member Trustee of Sahyadri Vikas Mandal, Khanapur, Taluka-Haveli, Distt. Pune, visited Lajpat Bhawan and held discussions with the Chairman. Dr. Modak was awarded degree in medicine in 1939 and he thereafter decided to take up social service in Khanapur, a small village situated at the foothills of the historic Singhgarh Fort, 15 miles away from Pune. The entire area around Khanapur was most under developed. He decided to concentrate his social work in Khanapur and taught its inhabitants a 'New Religion of Self-upliftment by Self-help' with the active cooperation of local villagers and good wishes of the people all around. Dr. Modak achieved commendable success. On seeing vast improvements in Khanapur, people from the nearby villages in the Mose-Mutha Valley came forward for similar development work to be undertaken in their villages. As a consequence of this, Sahyadri Vikas Mandal was formed to carry out development work at grass-root level on basis of "Self help".

The development work done in the valley has won appreciation from foreign donor agencies who have given voluntary donations to execute projects for which government help was not available.

Sahyadri Vikas Mandal at Khanapur has now a fullfledged and experienced staff of Project Officer, Agricultural Adviser and Village Level Workers. The Mandal is being assisted in Agricultural Engineering by reputed firms such as Kirloskars Consultants Ltd. and M/s. G. Sam & Co.

Given below is a list of programmes which the Mandal proposes to take up to generate employment potential and to improve the standard of living of people residing in Mose-Mutha Valley.

I. Agriculture

- (a) Lift Irrigation Projects in 12 villages.
- (b) Establishment of Agro-Service cum Supply Centre.
- (c) Afforestation — Establishment of Nursery Unit for Horticultural and Forest and medicinal plants.
- (d) Agricultural Education in respect of Crop Planning, Dairying and Poultry.

II. Public Health

- (a) Health Education.
- (b) Augmentation of wells for drinking water and other sources of safe drinking water facility.
- (c) Provision of community-latrines and bio-gas and gobar-gas units.
- (d) Mass Education including Family Planning and Nutrition.
- (e) Facility of village hospital.

III. Education

- (a) Extension of high school into rural college.
- (b) Vocational education useful for village industry.

IV. Small Industrial Units

- (a) Manufacturing of soap, bricks, safety-matches, carpets, bakery products, tailoring, etc.

(C) RURAL DEVELOPMENT IN GONDA DISTRICT

Shri Nanaji Deshmukh also visited Lajpat Bhawan and held discussions with the Chairman on Rural Development work being done

under his stewardship in Gonda Distt. of Uttar Pradesh. With a dedicated band of 35/40 young workers and cooperation received from local villagers this Unit has changed the face of most of the drought affected areas in the Gonda District. We highlight below some of the achievements of the Unit in a period of about 2 years.

Minor Irrigation Projects

1. Borings completed	...	27516 Nos.
2. Diesel Pumpsets installed	...	14393 "
3. Electric Tubewells commissioned	...	481 "
4. Irrigated Area	...	2,24,002 Acres
5. Area under multiple cropping	...	1,99,684 "
6. Area under two crops per year	...	1,58,353 "
7. Area under three crops per year	...	44,331 "
8. Families benefited	...	92,355 Nos.
9. Villages saturated in irrigation	...	839 "
10. Trees planted	...	2,23,000 "
11. Length of roads constructed/ improved	...	1,152 Kms.
12. Facilities for drinking water		
(a) New wells	...	1,318 Nos.
(b) Wells repaired/renovated	...	3,330 "
(c) Hand pumps installed	...	1,470 "

(D) MEETING

The next meeting of the Central Coordination Committee of the Non-Party Constructive Workers, will be held at Dharamsala (H. P.) from 10th June to 15th June, 1981.

Following subjects are proposed to be discussed at this meeting :

- Plan for Rural Development Work as per Villager's Note entitled "From GRAMDAN TO GRAM SWARAJ".
- Scheme of Training National Missionaries.

Public Grievances Committee

The activities of the Public Grievances Committee have been progressively on the increase. The following topics of public interest were taken up by the Committee with appropriate authorities :

- Grant of Dearness Allowance to pensioners at par with serving Government employees;

- (b) Regulation of street light hours in order to avoid wastage of electricity;
- (c) Grant of free medical facilities to Punjab Government pensioners residing in Delhi like their colleagues settled in the Punjab;
- (d) Removal of debris/waste material near the compound wall around tubewell No. 31 in Lajpat Nagar.

It is encouraging to state that some of the issues taken up by the Committee earlier got completed with success and others are in various stages of progress.

Some times people approach us with problems which do not strictly fall within the jurisdiction of this Committee. However, keeping in view the overall human aspect, all requests are duly entertained. After making a full assessment about guidance/assistance to the people concerned, consistent with our resources. While doing so, every care is taken to ensure that the Committee is not involved in any controversy or criticism.

Assistance to the handicapped/disabled persons

1981 being "The Year of The Disabled" L.S.S. has decided to make suitable contribution towards upliftment of the disabled/handicapped persons. For this purpose, a Committee has been formed and the following programme has been formulated :

- (a) To assist disabled persons in finding suitable avenues of employment;
- (b) Rehabilitation of poor/needy disabled persons by provision of artificial limbs;
- (c) Holding of seminars at regular intervals for disabled persons to determine the type of assistance required by them and the measures necessary for implementation.

News from the States

New Improved Qualities of Sugarcane

Large-scale multiplication is now in progress in respect of two sugarcane mutants developed at the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre. These are called TS-1, TS-8. These have been evaluated for content and crop stand by 20 sugar factories throughout the country.

Some of the factories have now undertaken multiplication of these mutants for nuclear seed production.

The All India Coordinated Research Programme (Sugarcane) of the Indian Council of Agricultural Research and the Department of Agriculture, Maharashtra are undertaking pre-release testing programmes of both these mutants.

Meanwhile, the Bhabha Atomic Research Centre has developed new improved cultures of groundnuts, mustard, sesame, rice, tur, moong and jute. These mutants are being tested at different agricultural universities and district level trials are also being arranged by the Union Ministry of Agriculture.

High Drop-out Rate in Medical Courses

Only 50 per cent of the medical students in the country pass the examinations for their medical degrees in normal time. Others clear the courses by putting additional time up to three years. This is revealed in a study conducted recently by the Institute of Applied Manpower Research—a Government aided research centre.

According to the study the drop-out rates are higher for male students and hostellers. About three-fourths of the drop-outs leave the MBBS course in the first year itself. The stagnation indices are quite high (22.9 per cent) for the 5½ MBBS course. In Dental Colleges 35

per cent of BDS (Bachelor of Dental Surgery) students pass the course in normal time. Another 43 per cent pass by putting one more year and the remaining by putting two to three additional years.

Rajasthan Tops in IRDP Implementation

In the implementation of the Integrated Rural Development Programme (IRDP), Rajasthan stands first in the country, according to information gathered by the State Government. As against a total allocation of Rs. 10.3 crores for Integrated Rural Development Programme in the State, approximately 11.2 crores were spent during 1980-81.

More than one lakh families have been brought above the poverty line through this programme.

Cultural Offices to be opened in Gulf Countries

The Government of India has accepted a proposal to open cultural offices in all the embassies of India in the Gulf states. The proposal was contained in a memorandum submitted to the Minister for External Affairs by some Indian citizens.

The memorandum laid emphasis on opening such offices on the ground that facilities like libraries and correspondence course by Indian universities be made available to the Indian citizens residing in the Gulf areas. Another reason given was that Governments in most of the Gulf countries do not allow any other religion other than Islam to be practised in public. Cultural links with India were, therefore, considered necessary.

Courtesy—INEA

The most acceptable adoration in this world which a man can pay to his Creator is to discharge his duty faithfully toward his fellow-creatures, discarding passion and partiality and without distinction of friend or foe, relative or stranger.

—Akbar

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—Vimala Thakar

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बिज्जान कुत्र विद्वान् सः the AWAKENING

बिज्जान कुत्र विद्वान् सः
ज्वालापुर-249403

Dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machines represented by the villagers scattered in the seven hundred thousand villages of India.

—M. K. Gandhi

I recognize no God except the God that is to be found in the hearts of the dumb millions. They do not recognize his presence; I do. And, I worship the God that is Truth or Truth which is God, through the service of these millions.....

—M. K. Gandhi

Inconvenience to the readers is regretted as the April 1981 Issue of the Awakening could not be published due to unavoidable reasons.

—Editor

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LET MY COUNTRY AWAKE

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
 Where knowledge is free;
 Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow
 domestic walls;
 Where words come out from the depth of truth;
 Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
 Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary
 desert sand of dead habit;
 Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought
 and action—
 Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

—Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941)

The Awakening

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Editorial

In a large country like India there are obviously many factors uniting the people and there are many other working as a disintegration force. Geographical contiguity, past history, religion, the approach to life, language, dress and a host of other factors. This is known to all conscious men and women. But the important question is whether we are doing something to take advantage of the favourable factors and utilising them for building a strong country, a nation that stands as a rock against not only external aggressions but is also fully united in solving the unlimited socio-economic problems that are confronting us. Well, much can be said on both the sides and debators would like to face their opponents with all the skill at their command.

Today, I have, however, only one aspect of the great debate that is in progress to place before the reader and that refers to languages. A language can unite a nation, give it strength for action and at the same time it can dismember a people in no time. Because, language is the linking medium to keep people together, to share each other's views and to participate in common programmes. I have in my own humble way had the opportunity to see both roles. United State of America is about three times the size of India and is vastly spread out but English, even with its minor difference of expression of different areas is a great uniting factor for the Americans. In contrast, you look at the province of Quebec in Canada and you find the unending fight between the English and French languages always soiling the atmosphere. A French descendant Canadian knows English well but it is always difficult to make him leave his French and to make him speak in English. This it is more a political problem and less a problem of language, it is a human issue that has to be tackled at the human level to draw the cooperation of all.

Now very similar is the condition in India. Are we to fight amongst ourselves on the issue of the language problem or attend to those problems and involve the people improving their lives and to keep the nation together in the march to higher standards.

In this very context I saw only a couple of days back the statement of the Tamil Nadu Minister made in the Legislative Assembly on the 13th May in which he spoke with vehemance against pressurising people on the learning of Hindi in the non-Hindi areas. But against this I

had also the chance to visit a jhuggi-jhopri colony on that very day located in a posh locality of Delhi. It was a miserable sight to see women and young children walking to collect water in pots and pans from a single water tap located at a distance of one Kilometer from the colony. By chance, I was there during the hottest part of the day, and it so happened as we all know, that many of these Jhuggi-Jhopri dwellers belong to the Tamil area. Now, is it important for them to fight for language recognition or is it necessary for them to work for economic upliftment and to lead a better life? Do they need better food and more water facilities or only the status of their area-language being declared as a national language?

This applies not only to Tamil Nadu but to many other parts of the country. To elaborate, there has been of late a growing pressure on the declaration of Urdu as a national language. Articles on this subject are published in newspapers and journals and discussions held again and again in social or political meetings. What is worse, such discussions take a violent form and life is unnecessarily lost or maimed.

Similar situations arose earlier too and similar arguments were used before Independence. But in all, this agitation or violent strikes by one side or the other, we never think of the poor majority of our people. Will it really matter, as pointed out above, to the Tamil girl living in a Jhuggi to know that AIR news collections are in chaste Tamil or Hindi or Urdu? Or will she prefer that a water tap is provided near her Jhuggi and that her mother gets enough of assignment. Then she may get the chance to lead a good life and even go to a school in the adjoining locality.

This is really a matter to consider. The socially conscious have not only to think but also to act to awaken the people and thus help in the growth of a new life.

It is in this context that we have to think of the valuable advice that our great leaders gave to us to adopt Hindustani as the link language of the country, may be written in any script. Such a decision will bring to an end the frustrating discussions that are held again and again on the language issue and join the people together in a bond of brotherliness.

—Y. R. Mehta

Partyless Democracy

The Only Way Out of An Impasse

Prafulla Chandra Sen

For some years I have been trying to understand the implications of partyless democracy. I was drawn to the idea, nebulous then, in 1958 when I began to realize that parliamentary democracy would not thrive in our country unless, in the midst of a number of parties, two parties equal in strength, organisation, resources and credibility, existed.

Parliamentary democracy thrives on Opposition, but it cannot flourish if the Opposition consists of numerous, heterogeneous parties, weak in resources, numerical strength and political viability. The two-party system is conducive to the success of parliamentary democracy, but since Independence we have not been able to evolve that system. The Indian National Congress continued to be the only dominant party and it split in December 1969.

During the fourth General Elections in 1967, the Congress was mauled both in the Lok Sabha and the State Assembly election. At the Centre the Congress was returned to power with a small majority, but in many States coalition governments were formed. Consisting of heterogeneous parties and groups, these were bound to be short-lived and as they fell, one by one, the hope for a party equal to the Congress receded. In the fifth General Elections in 1971, Mr. Jagjivan Ram's Congress was returned to power with a comfortable majority but the Nijalingappa Congress did not fare well.

Short Life

In West Bengal, the United Front Government had an uneasy existence in 1967 and again in 1969. In 1971 there was a short three-

month United Front Government. It was a coalition of Mr. Jagjivan Ram's Congress and Mr. Ajoy Mukherjee's Bangla Congress with Mr. Mukherjee as the Chief Minister. This Government too, had a short life. There was then a mid-term election in West Bengal in 1972 and Mr. Jagjivan Ram's Congress was returned to power with a huge majority (There were allegations though that there was large-scale rigging).

In June 1975, the Emergency was declared. The Press was censored, public meetings were banned, civil liberty was suspended. More than 1,00,000 people were arrested and detained without trial. One even heard of cases of torture in jails. Satyagraha was offered by thousands, and the Emergency was fought non-violently. Opposition parties took in the countrywide movement. Strangely enough, the CPI(M) did not take any active part in this biggest ever mass stir. The CPI remained an ally of the ruling Congress. In November 1976, Mrs. Gandhi announced Lok Sabha Elections. Mr. Morarji Desai and other leaders belonging to different parties were released.

These leaders decided to contest the election jointly. A few days before the filing of nomination papers, a new party named the Congress for Democracy (CFD) was formed under the leadership of Mr. Jagjivan Ram. They, too decided to fight the election unitedly with those who had suffered during the 19-month long Emergency. The Janata Party that came to rule the country thereafter was not formed before the election. It was formed on May 1, 1977, after the elections.

The CFD joined the newly constituted Janata Party four days later. Dissension in Janata, however, began even before the party was formed and it had nothing to do with programmes, ideals or values. It was simply for power and position. Some people wanted Mr. Desai to be the Prime Minister (I was one of them). Mr. Charan Singh was, however, an aspirant for that office, as also Mr. Jagjivan Ram. The scramble was somehow resolved by Acharya J. B. Kriplani and Loknayak Jayaprakash Narayan, who had to intervene because of the ugly situation.

A heterogeneous party like Janata was doomed to failure. Although, the Janata Government, under the leadership of Mr. Desai did exceedingly well despite all the "ghatakbad" (groupism), extraneous factors and manoeuvring by interested parties and power mania caused

its downfall. The Congress also split for the second time in 1978. The last hope, therefore, of having a two-party system was lost, possibly for ever. Once out of office, Janata split thrice in the course of a few months.

There is still, some of us believe, one redeeming feature in the encircling gloom. It is that, among all the parties in our country, the Janata Party has adopted Gandhian values and ideology. It stands for a decentralized economy and devotion of power. It is interesting to note in this connection that even the Congress had never accepted the Gandhian philosophy in its totality. That was one reason why Gandhi himself ceased to be "four anna" member of the Congress Party.

Now that Janata is not in power and there is no lure of office before it, it should, in my opinion, work for the realization of Gandhian ideals, as also for the decentralization of the economy and administration. If the party is faithful to the Gandhian ideology, it must ultimately accept partyless democracy. This is what I think about the future of the Janata Party.

Main Pillars

The more I am delving into writing of Gandhi, Jayaprakash Narayan and Mr. M. N. Roy, the more I feel convinced that the country must make a bid for the adoption of partyless democracy. Here and now. As an initial experiment, I did want the Panchayat elections in West Bengal held in 1978, to be on a partyless basis. This was also the directive of the old, united Congress which split in 1969. But the Janata Party did not agree, and I had to resign from the office of the President of the West Bengal Pradesh Janata Party.

One thing, however, is clear—partyless democracy cannot be ushered in for the asking. We have to work for it. We have to educate our masters—the people. We have to instil in the minds of our co-workers the ideology of Gandhi, and that of partyless democracy. A countrywide movement will have to be started for this purpose and our Constitution changed appropriately. Jayaprakash Narayan had, I understand, prepared some type of a blueprint for it in the sixties, in his capacity as President of the All-India Panchayat Parishad. The basis of partyless democracy will, of course, be non-violence and

persuasion, its two main pillars being a decentralized economy and devolution of power.

Village units will have to be demarcated carefully with a population of 1,000. These units will be made, as far as possible, self sufficient in food, clothing, housing and other daily necessities of life. All agricultural land will belong to the village panchayat. Bullocks and even cows will belong to the gram panchayat. The village panchayat will be elected every four or five years on the basis of adult franchise. Every village will have bio-gas plants for supplying fuel and light. Primary education, which will be of the basic type, will be controlled by the village panchayat. Village industries like Khadi etc. will also be controlled by the panchayat. Village roads, canals, irrigation works and tanks will likewise be under the gram panchayat. Tree plantation will be a responsibility of the village panchayat. Every village will have a common hall for cultural functions.

Successive electoral college will elect anchal, sub-divisional, zilla, pradesh and the all-India Panchayat. The latter will function on the basis of harmony, cooperation and consensus rather than encouraging competition conflict and voting on all issues. Jamia education, small irrigation projects small industries (besides cottage) will be under the anchal panchayat. High schools, major irrigation projects, and the not so small industries will be under sub-divisional district panchayat. Details can be worked out later. For the present, the idea must capture the minds of the people through ceaseless propaganda.

Those who believe in real democracy, to whatever party they may owe allegiance, even the Marxists who sincerely believe in the withering away of the State, will, I am sure, join us in their endeavour. For there is no other way, as far as I can see, to solve the acute problems that face the nation.

Great Disparity

We have spent more than Rs. 1,00,000 crores during the Five Year Plan and the subsequent plans and the net result has been that 60% of our people still live below the poverty line and 10% are destitutes. Unemployment is mounting the total unemployment numbering over twenty million : the educated unemployed would be nearly two million. Literacy is only 36%. There is great disparity in income. The benefit

of planning has reached only 15% to 20% of our people. The GNP does not give any indication of our economy. Per capita income is declining, or is at best static in some states. Per capita consumption of cloth has declined from about 16 metres to 13.5 metres. Inflation is eating into the vitals of our economy. Prices are rising and cannot be brought down. There is all-round frustration, despondency, misery and helplessness. Only Gandhian ideology can save us from the mess we are in today.

Partyless democracy may bring to an end the supremacy of the political parties. For the latter, by their very terms of reference have to look to the interests of their own partymen first. So a party cannot thrive if it work exclusively and without discrimination for the country and its people. Despite the fact that Marx and Engels had arrived at the conclusion that as soon as Communism is established, the state will wither away this has not happened. For we find that as the state is established it becomes the most powerful, next only to the party to which all powers of the state accrue. What withers away, in the process, is not the state but the power of the people.

In Britain the parliamentary system evolved over 500 years to reach the present state. Yet what a state it is in today when Mrs. Margaret Thatcher admits that there is no alternative to chronic unemployment and her mentor says that what Britain needs are more paupers and more millionaires.

In a country like India at least, only Gandhian system with Gram Swaraj as its goal will thrive and help us resolve our complex problems. That is what 60 years of my political career have made me believe. That is where my journey into politics has brought me today.

Lala Lajpat Rai and Organised Labour in India

S. D. Tripathi*

Lala Lajpat Rai's contribution towards the promotion and development of the organised labour movement in India has not been fully appreciated by the present generation of historians and thinkers in India. His complex personality as an indomitable freedom-fighter, an ardent social reformer, an astute political thinker, an incessant crusader for humanitarian causes, an unrelenting champion of the down-trodden and oppressed and a martyr for the highest human values—appears to have eclipsed his glorious image as one of the pioneers of trade unionism in India. Through his frequent writings, addresses and speeches on the different aspects of political regeneration and freedom struggle in general and the problems of labour in particular in national¹ and inter-national² forums, Lalaji helped in evolving a trade union philosophy and in crystallising the basic issues affecting the triangular relationship of labour, capital and Government in the British-dominated India and served as a beacon-light for the trade union activities and working class of his times and future generations in India.

Lalaji was not merely a visionary intellectual, but a man of action and a number of wholtime members of the Servants of People Society, founded by him, were inspired under his leadership to participate in the basic task of organizing labour in this country. The impact of these trade union functionaries (3) and social workers in shaping the desiny of labour movement of the country is obvious to a student of labour affairs in the pre-and post-independence India.

* Professor, Department of Commerce & Business Management, Punjab University.

Although Lalaji's association with the working class movement in this country was a part and product of his overall programme of struggle for political freedom and his ideas on labour questions were influenced by the then existing socio-economic and political conditions in India, some of his ideas, observations and professions are still relevant in the contemporary situation, even after over 33 years of national independence and over four decades after his death. The objective of the present paper is to pinpoint some of his basic postulates on the problems of organised labour in relation to their relevance in the present day Indian context.

Rationale of Organised Labour : An Antidote of Organised Capitalism

While Lalaji accepted modern world to be a world of machinery, mass production, organised industry, organised capital and organised labour, he was highly critical of the role of organised capital whether British or Indian in the economic system.

He considered,

'Militarism and Imperialism are the twin children of Capitalism. Their shadow, their fruit and their bark—all are poisonous'.

His assessment of the behaviour of organised capital and that of its necessary concomitants—militarism, industrialism, commercialism, imperialism, etc.—is applicable in all its implications in present times, whether at the national level or international level. The craze for capturing the world markets, economic exploitation of the under-developed nations—and of the weaker peoples, the desire to dominate the world by force of military power and efforts towards expanding the areas of political and cultural influence are some of the symptoms of the existing malady in the international sphere. On the national level, Indian capitalism is based on the doctrines of inhuman exploitation, economic concentration and intense competition. Lalaji was aware of these conflicts, inconsistencies and pressures of organised capital and considered organised labour to be an antidote of the disease, as back as early—twenties of the present century. According to him organised capital was responsible for destroying many an old civilization, enslaving religion, chaining science and placing in bondage all the forces of nature and human intellect.

Diagnosis of Indian Labour Character, Problems and Drawbacks

Lalaji had deeply studied the character, problems and weaknesses of Indian labour. His insight into the psychology and behaviour of the Indian working class demonstrates his close contacts with the trade union movement in the country.

In his opinion, social problems like untouchability were the results of prejudice against certain kinds of labour, although no form of labour should be considered degrading, which served social ends. He had an implicit faith in the potentialities of Indian labour and its glorious traditions. He distinguished education with literacy and considered the Indian worker to be much more educated than his fellow workers in U.K., Europe and America, if education was tested by one's sobriety, one's moral character and other such qualities. On the basis of his experience of the few strikes in Bombay, Madras, Lahore and Calcutta, Lalaji was convinced that Indian workers were much more disciplined and self controlled than the corresponding ranks of labour in U.K., U.S.A., France and Germany.

Lalaji had a comprehensive view of multi-facet labour problems. He did not agree with those, who took a myopic view of problems of labour. Though in essence labour was an economic problem, it is social and political too. Unless labour came to its own, the world cannot be truly democratic and the present barbaric condition would continue, when the producers of the wealth are the poorest, the most backward and the most miserable of all the human beings. According to Lalaji, 'Socialism, in essence, is protest against the degradation to which the working part humanity has been reduced by the enjoying part of it'.⁸

In his diagnosis, Lalaji felt that labour in India suffered from many drawbacks and varied prejudices. Depressed by antiquated religio-social ideals, with lower standards of literacy, ignorant of extravagant of wastefulness and jealousy of bureaucracy, suppressed by resourceful despotism, labour in this country, according to Lalaji, was in a greater need of organisation and joint action. In spite of 30 years of political independence, the diagnosis of Lalaji is extremely relevant, except with a slight difference that the foreign British bureaucrat has been replaced by the Indian administrator and the British capitalist by Indian Capitalist.

Divisive Tactics

Lalaji was aware that while the interests of workers are identical all over the world, the capitalists everywhere were successful in driving a wedge amongst workers of different countries on nationalistic and partiotic grounds. To the workers of Manchester was always presented the bug bear of cheap labour in India, while Indian labour was always kept in fear of the competition from Manchester. The clever device of the capitalist to divide workers on national, cultural and ethnic groups is still prevailing, unless there is a strong working class movement everywhere with greater understanding of the capitalist manipulations. Lalaji observes, 'So long there is cheap labour in India, and so long India is helpless to keep out foreign capital and to prevent the latter using Indian labour to the detriment of the European workers, the cause of the European proletariat is neither safe nor secure'.⁹

An International Vision Organisation and International Affiliation

Lalaji was in favour of Indian workers joining hands and brains not only to solidify their own interests but also to forge a link in the chain of international working class brotherhood.¹⁰ He felt that capital was organized on a world-wide basis and was backed by financial and political strength beyond conception and was equipped with weapons stronger than that of labour. He visualized :¹¹

- (a) a strong national labour organization, free from provincial and local rivalries,
- (b) regional cooperation amongst Indian and Asian and African workers *inter se*, and,
- (c) a well-knit international workers' organisation for coordination and effective joint action at international level.

His concern for workers in Fiji, Kenya and South Africa and his appeal to Japan, the only progressive Asiatic country, which can vindicate the honour of the east, to ratify, the Washington Convention of 1919, bespeak of his outlook towards internationalisation of the working class movement. Although Asian and African countries now have a greater representation of the ILO than what was the position

in 1926, the impact and influence of under-developed and developing nations of the world have to be intensified in this international forum with a view to improving the conditions of labour in such countries. His cherished dream for a strong, united and effective trade union organisation at the national level, remains unfulfilled in the context of the existing union rivalries on ideological, political and operational bases in India. Once national trade union unity is achieved, efforts may be made for greater regional cooperation amongst the trade union in Asia and Africa on independent basis, free from the influence of politics-ridden international confederations of workers' organisations (WFTU, ICFTU or others).

Industrial Vs Labour Interests : The Proper Angle

Lalaji exposed a number of fallacies in relation to Indian labour in his times. The protagonists of capitalism and free enterprise even now harp upon the same arguments with a view to safeguarding their interests. It is often argued that in order to compete with foreign competitors successfully, capital in India should be allowed a high rate of profits for which cheap labour is a necessity. In the interests of Indian industries, labour in India should be plentiful and cheap. Lalaji refused to admit that the interests of Indian industries must in every case override the human needs of workers. He rightfully deplored that 'in all discussions about the demands and rights of labour in India, labour is still treated as a commodity to be sold and purchased in open market and it is the interests of industry that are held supreme'.¹²

Industrial Relations Criteria

What should be the criteria for economic decision-making in the realm of labour-management relations? Often the question asked is, "Will the industry bear it?" The proper question according to Lalaji should be, "How can the industry be made to bear it consistently with the minimum human requirements of the worker and his family on the standard of a moderately comfortable healthy life?"

He rightly pointed out, if labour must remain half-starved, ill-clothed, badly housed and destitute of education, it would have no interest in the development of Indian industries and all appeals in the

name of patriotism would fall.¹³ The Indian capitalists, in their own interest and in the national interest, must meet labour half-way and must come to understanding with it on the basis of sharing the profits in a reasonable and just proportion.

System of Inhuman Inequalities

Lalaji severely criticised the extreme disparity that existed between the salaries of the lowest services and those of the highest. The differences between maximum and minimum salaries in the U.S. and U.K. on the one hand and India on the other is simply startling. In the post-Independent India, the system continues and there is ever-widening difference in incomes between the rich and the poor, between owners and tillers, between manual work and skilled work and between one region and the other. A recent study (problem of Poverty in India-Dandekar and Roth), bespeaks about the deplorable condition of 40% rural and 50% of urban population, who live below the minimum level of living, while there is a simultaneous growth of a non-rich class and monopoly houses in the wake of industrialisation of the country. The criticism of the salary structure in British India vis-a-vis that in the U.K. and U.S....., as projected¹⁴ by Lalaji over fifty years ago, applies with same relevance in the present Indian situation.

The Labour Power : The Weapons

Most of trade union activities, except some highly committed persons, believe that the American, European or Russian¹⁵ standards and patterns of labour organization cannot be blindly applied in India. Lalaji was fully aware of the fact that despite identical interests of labour all the world over, the power of labour in each country was limited by local and national circumstances. Labour in Europe is in a position to dictate through political action. (He found out that to depend for his rights and the amelioration of his condition, on political action of persons, who owe their legislative power and position, to the votes of men of property, is absurd and unnatural. In order to protect his own and his class interests, the worker must have a vote, which he must give it to men of his class or to one pledged to his interests). The worker in Europe is a political unit. Besides, the political action, European labour has found the weapon of direct action. The position is aptly reflected in the U.K., where the trade unions

dominate the political system of the country, through Labour party. The U.S.A. worker bargains with the political parties for exercise of his right to vote, although he has accepted capitalism as the economic system of the country. On the contrary is the Russian worker, who aims to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat in the political system of the country.

Lalaji realised that Indian labour has not even reached the first stage and so he was most interested in organising the labour power in the country. Once the labour was organised, he was sure that Indian labour movement would carve out its own lines of action (even form a Labour Party as in the U.K.), depending upon the exigencies of the situation.

In this process, Lalaji wished labour in India, Europe, Asia and elsewhere to solve their problems, each in its own way obtaining such support and help from others' thought and experiences as is readily adoptable in the light of particular circumstances and conditions of life and its own ideals. Labour can, in this way, join hands in building a new world, without one imposing its will on the other and without one dominating and exploiting the other".¹⁶ Lalaji's democratic approach towards international labour cooperation, without political or ideological over-tones, is worth emulation even today.

The Class Struggle

Lalaji had a rational and pragmatic approach towards industrial relations. Pointing out to ideological approach towards labour-management relations, Lalaji observed that there were some trade union leaders and thinkers, who believed that the class war between capital and labour was inevitable. In this war, they contend Indian labour should fight on the same lines and should take active part in bringing about proletariat revolution in India, as Russian labour had done. They feel that there is no possibility of integration of differences that exist between labour and capital. On the other hand, there are others, who believe that Indian labour should keep out of the class war, which has been a threat to the European civilization.

In this controversy, Lalaji posed certain questions to both the protagonists and opponents of class war. Can class war be avoided?

if so, how? Is class war the last word on the subject? Are philosophers everywhere not engaged in a serious attempt to find out a peaceful solution to the problem? Should both capital and labour in India not take timely steps to prevent the development of the present differences into a class war?

The above questions regarding the alternative approaches to labour capital relations—whether class struggle or class collaboration—have been exercising the minds of trade union functionaries in India. Though some experiments have been made in the realm of industrial relations under the guidance of Mahatma Gandhi (Ahmedabad Experiment) and under the influence of his principles of trusteeship, the basic issues remain untackled as yet.

Trade Unions and Politics

Lalaji elaborated the relationship between trade unions and politics. Whether labour organisations be used for political purpose? He simply expected better educated, more experienced and better trained people to place their faculties at the disposal of Indian labour in order to help and guide them in their organisational tasks. 'To think of using them for any purpose—political or otherwise—is presumption unworthy of this great aim', their participation in the national struggle was but natural. According to Lalaji the interests of workers should be supreme in the minds of trade union leaders rather than their personal and political interests.

Trade Union Leadership

Though Lalaji believed in Indian labour finding its leaders from its own ranks, he was not opposed to outside leadership in manning the trade unions in initial and formative stages of labour organisation. According to him, those who were not strictly wage-earners, but who felt for labour should dedicate their time, talents and money for the improvement of the wage-earners' lot. He exhorted Indian workers not to fall in the trap of the Government and employers, who did not like the interference of those who were not actually wage-earners since they knew that unorganised, illiterate and unskilled labour is incompetent to fight its own battles and can easily be made to yield in negotiation between them and their educated, resourceful and wide-awake opponents.

The controversy about 'inside-outside leadership' in the present trade unionism should be viewed in this perspective. Though the rise and development of inside leadership amongst the Indian labour would be welcome till the time it happens, trade unionism in India would have to fall back upon socially-conscious, socially-inclined and public-spirited persons for their leadership. Labour management relationship is developing as a specialised and complex field and the trade union representatives at the bargaining table have to be of the same calibre as the highly qualified management representatives, if labour interests have to be effectively promoted at the negotiations.

Indian Trade Union Act

While welcoming some aspects of N.M. Joshi's Indian Trade Union Bill in the Central Legislative Assembly on February 8, 1926, Lalaji pointed out some of the defects therein in his speech. He was particularly critical of not following the English statutes in this regard and the application of Section 17 (Protection against Criminal conspiracy in trade disputes), (enforceability of agreements) only to the registered trade unions.

While all trade unions are combinations of workers to protect themselves against the combinations of employees, for the purpose of furthering their interests and protecting their rights (by occasional strikes, collective bargaining and other similar steps), there is no necessity of making a distinction between registered and unregistered trade unions. The Law restricts practically the enjoyment of the rights and privileges only to the registered unions to the exclusion of the unregistered ones.

Pointing out the anomaly in Indian Trade Union Bill, Lalaji observed that while provisions protecting the rights and privileges of a combination of workers (trade unions) were applicable to all the three categories of trade unions in U.K. (a) Trade Unions registered under the Law relating to trade unions; (b) Trade Unions registered under Friendly Societies Act and the like, and (c) Unregistered trade unions; the Indian Law granted these protections only to the officers and members of the registered trade unions.

There might have been justification in not following the English statutes in this regard (if at all) in 1926, on the alleged grounds of newness and infancy of trade union movement or condition of education

amongst the workers, it is imperative now that the protection of rights and privileges under Section 17, 18 and 19 be extended to all combinations of workers, regardless of their being registered or not. This extension would strengthen the labour organisation in India and many sections of the wage-earners, who are presently denied the privileges of registration as a trade union, would be covered under the protection of rights and privileges granted presently to the registered trade unions.

The Tasks Ahead

Lalaji's advice regarding the future tasks before the trade Unions in India is entirely relevant in the context of the contemporary situation of labour in the country.

'For the present our greatest need in this country is to organise, agitate and associate our workers, make them conscious and educate them in the ways and interests of common weal.....Labour in this country has many fetters to break through. They will require time and energy, application and organisation, self-discipline, self-control, hard work and the spirit of sacrifice and cooperation'.¹⁹

India is on the thresh-hold of a socio-economic and political revolution, and the entire process of industrialisation has generated a chain of actions and reactions in the economic system and has created problems of new relationships in the industrial structure. In the great task of accelerating the process of industrialisation on the one hand and creating harmonious relationship among, and congenial climates for state, industry, labour and people on the other, ideas of Lalaji on national problems in general and labour problems in particular may go a long way in achieving the national objectives.

REFERENCES

1. Lalaji presided over the first session of the All India Trade Union Congress (AITUC), held at Bombay on Nov. 7, 1920. He was one of the most active members of the Central Legislative Assembly from 1926-1928 and was the leading speaker on national and labour issues.
2. He attended VIII International Labour Conference (ILO) Geneva in June 1926 as an accredited representative of the Indian Labour.

3. Late Harihar Nath Shastri, one of the founders of INTUC, Raja Ram Shastri, ex-president of H.M.S. and several others were the life members of the Servants of People Society.
4. Presidential Address, A.I.T.U.C. 1920.
5. Tribune, November 4, 1923; The Congress Programme Untouchability and Labour.
6. Industrialism in its present form is no doubt an entirely new introduction in this country and industrialisation necessarily leads to trade unionism. There can no guarantee for the interests of labour and of the workers in this industrial movement without a network of trade unions to protect and guard their interests.

(Speech in Central Legislative Assembly, Feb. 8, 1926 on Indian Trade Union Bill).

7. Organising labour means placing them in a position to meet organised capital on such terms that the latter may not be able take the advantage of their ignorance and their disorganised state (Tribune November 4, 1923; Untouchability and Labour).
8. Ibid.
9. Presidential Address, A.I.T.U.C., 1920.
10. 'Indian labour must play its part and secure the sympathy of International labour. It is therefore, of vital importance that Indian labour must cultivate the most friendly relations with European labour, without necessarily adopting all items in their planks'. (Presidential Address A.I.T.U.C., 1920).
11. For greater details, please consult speech of Lala Lajpat Rai on Directors' Report, Eighth International Labour Conference, Geneva on June 2, 1926.
12. Ibid.
13. 'An appeal to patriotism must affect the rich and the poor alike, in fact, the rich more than the poor' (Ibid).
14. Presidential Address, A.I.T.U.C., 1920.
15. Lenin's message to Bala Kun, wherein the former warned the latter against the danger of applying Russian standard to Hungary prematurely.
16. Untouchability and Labour, The Tribune, November 4, 1923.
17. Ibid.
18. Speech of Lala Lajpat Rai on Indian Trade Union Bill, Central Legislative Assembly, Feb. 8, 1926.
19. Presidential Address, A.I.T.U.C., 1920.

Electoral Reforms

B. G. Verghese

India is the biggest democratically governed country in the world. The mainstay of this system is free and fair adult franchise. But we find that the political interference, money power and other allurements etc. have interfered and influenced our electoral system to the extent that they have reduced the infant democracy to a farce. As a result of this it is very likely that the people of the country may lose faith in the Parliamentary way of an elected government. The need of electoral reforms is, therefore, being felt by all the saner elements in the country. A meeting convened by the Congress for Democracy/Voters Council (Delhi) and attended by representatives of different parties in this connection was held at Gandhi Peace Foundation New Delhi recently. The broad consensus of the views arrived at the meeting are reproduced here for our readers. They are requested to send their comments/suggestions, synopses of which will be published in our next issue.

Asstt. Editor

The following attended :

1. L. K. Advani
2. Banka Behari Das
3. Bapusaheb Parulekar
4. V. M. Tarkunde
5. Radhakrishnan

BJP

Congress (U)

Janata

General Secretary, CFD
Secretary, Gandhi Peace
Foundation.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|---|
| 6. Inderjit | Lok Sevak Sangh |
| 7. Dr D. A. Pai Panendikar | Centre For Policy Research |
| 8. Dr. Bashiruddin Ahmed | Centre for the Study of Deve-
loping Societies |
| 9. Col. J. S. Bindra (Retd) | Voters' Council, New Delhi |
| 10. Air Cmdr. A. L. Saigal (Retd) | Hindustan Andolan |
| 11. Shri V. R. Rao | Under Secretary, Election
Commission of India |
| 12. N. D. Pancholi | Secretary, CFD, Delhi |
| 13. B. G. Verghese | CFD/Voters' Council (Delhi) |

The following parties were invited, but did not attend : CPI (M), Lok Dal, CPI and Congress (I)

Shri V. M. Tarkunde was elected to the chair.

At the outset, it was stated on behalf of the sponsors that the object was to try and secure a consensus on atleast some aspects of electoral reform so as to build up a pressure for early implementation. Delhi, Himachal, Haryana and West Bengal are due to go to the polls within the next 13 months and Karnataka and Andhra Pradesh in 1983. The time for electoral reform is therefore now and many useful changes can be introduced through executive orders based on a political consensus.

Shri Tarkunde said that the issues listed by the Chief Election Commissioner while being extensive were not exhaustive. Matters like preventing the use of official machinery, discussed in the Tarkunde Committee Report, should be pursued. Since ruling parties tend to move sluggishly on electoral reform, it was suggested that public opinion might be built up through the introduction of non-official Bills in Parliament.

The broad consensus was as follows :

1. The ceiling on the expenses of a candidate should be inclusive of the expenditure incurred by his political party or friends. As a

to safeguard these expenses should be channelled either through the candidate himself or his election agent. Expenditure by any other person should be made an offence under the law. It was emphasised that the law as it stood in 1974 should be taken as the norm with regard to the ceiling.

2. With regard to the maintenance of accounts, it was felt that complete public audit of electoral income and expenditure of candidates and parties would be necessary if State funding of elections is accepted. In the absence of State funding, it might at best be possible to require political parties to render accounts since disclosure of their sources of income might in the present circumstances result in the victimisation of opposition parties and those contributing to them.

3. The Election Commission may be empowered to examine all election returns whether of winning or defeated candidates with a view to examining their accuracy and legitimacy. But some doubt was expressed with regard to the efficacy of this proposal.

4. The principle of State funding of candidates of political parties was endorsed. This assistance would be in addition to the candidates' own permissible expenditure within any agreed ceiling and should be given in the form of provision of paper and electoral rolls, printing of a limited number of posters, supply of petrol/diesel coupons for a limited number of vehicles, postage, and payment to polling agents.

It was, however, felt that State funding, while given on the basis of the past electoral performance of recognised parties might be adjusted on the basis of the parties' performance in the current poll.

It was accepted that independents would necessarily be ineligible for State funding.

5. It was agreed that each candidate should be proposed by a large number of voters—up to 20 or 100—as a means of eliminating frivolous candidates. However, proposals to increase the security deposit, raise the limit for forfeiture of deposit from 1/6th to 1/4th of the valid votes polled, and disqualify candidates who forfeit their deposits from contesting any further elections for a period of years, were not favoured.

6. The idea of introducing a limited "list" system was briefly discussed and deferred as it involves a basic change on which there is as yet no consensus.

7. The need for an electoral code of conduct was endorsed. But it was felt that enforcement of the existing code had not been entirely satisfactory.

8. It was agreed that electoral rolls should be prepared boothwise and their annual revision, scrutiny and correction should be undertaken at each booth itself every January. While claims and objections should be filed within 15 days of the rolls, voters should be in a position to scrutinise the revised lists and satisfy themselves that their names had been incorporated (or other names deleted) during February.

9. The proposal to issue identity-cum-photograph to each voter on the Sikkim pattern was approved. The phasing of this operation proposed by the Chief Election Commissioner was approved.

10. An improved version of the electronic voting machine developed by Bharat Electronics Ltd., was displayed. Its early introduction was felt to be very desirable after proper testing and trials in by-elections or in a few constituencies including some in backward areas.

11. It was felt that the time at present allowed from the date of calling of elections to the date of poll (30 days) need not be reduced in view of the size of the constituencies and the need to encourage political education. But campaigning should stop 48 hours from the commencement of polling rather than only 24 hours before polling as at present.

12. The desirability of a one-day poll throughout the country was accepted to the extent administratively possible.

13. A proposal to ban candidates contesting more than one seat or an MLA/MP contesting a seat for another House was not favoured. However, it was agreed that State funding should be limited to only one seat per candidate and should be available to sitting MLAs/MPs.

14. The increased use of electoral broadcasts over radio and television was favoured.

15. It was agreed that no general election or bi-election should be delayed beyond two months from the date of dissolution/vacancy. Where for exceptional reasons fresh elections cannot be held within this 60-day period, the Chief Election Commissioner might be empowered to postpone the poll by a further period of 60 days after assigning reasons in writing for the postponement which should be made public.

16. The misuse of official machinery for furthering the electoral interests of the ruling party at the Centre or in the States was condemned. It was felt that by convention every government (Central or State) should function as though it were a caretaker government for a period of 90 days preceding the poll. The laying of foundation stones, the sanctioning of the schemes, and transfer of officials should be held in abeyance during this period. The use of IAF aircraft should be banned by law or made equally available to opposition party leaders on the same terms.

The Supreme Court has described administrative sanctions and expenditure on the eve of elections as an evil practice though not a corrupt practice. It may however be desirable to make such evil practice an electoral offence and a corrupt practice under the election law.

17. Voters' Council and other bodies should encourage candidates to come together on common platforms to explain their views and programme. However, if State funding is introduced, then such responsibility should devolve on the official election machinery itself.

18. There was consensus on the desirability of setting up a small standing committee on electoral reforms consisting of leaders of nationally recognised political parties and a few non-government representatives. The committee should make specific recommendation on the basis of areas of agreement evident in earlier discussions and forums. This would help build public opinion and pave the way for electoral reform.

19. The proposal for vesting responsibility for municipal and panchayat election in the Election Commission was not discussed as

this question, like that of defections, was felt to require separate treatment.

Addendum

Shri V. M. Tarkunde has sent the following comment on the minutes of the May 2 meeting as circulated.

"I do not agree that independent candidates should be excluded from State Funding for their election expenses. J. P. was of the view that independent candidates should have a place in elections and visulised that voters' councils, when they grow in strength, should be able to set up peoples' candidates for the elections. That has also been my view. The scheme which was evolved by the committee appointed by the CFD on election expenses placed party candidates and independent candidates on a footing of equality in respect of the States' contribution to their election expenses."

No Comments

The CPI today alleged that the Rajasthan Minister of State for Mines Mr. Nana Lal performed the marriage of two minor daughters aged 8 and 12 in his village, Kiraj, near Udaipur on Sunday and thus violated with impunity the provisions of the Sharda Act.

—Statesman 22.5.81

Miss Bala Sen of the Staff Union of Upendranath Mukherjee Memorial Hospital has alleged that 33 hospital staff members have not been paid their salary for about eight months. The messing arrangements for these people have been stopped for the past six months; the management has not paid the diet allowance also.

—Statesman 22.5.81

A Brahmin married a Harijan girl to claim the statutory incentive which was granted. He reappeared after two years to make a claim for a second incentive from another inter-caste marriage.

It transpired later that the Brahmin divorced the girl soon after the first wedding and married her again after the expiry of the required two year period of separation. It was quite legal and the law could do little (said Mrs. Krish Sahi, Chairman of the Joint Parliamentary Committee to examine the Dowry Prohibition Act).

—Times of India 25.5.81

The authorities both at the Centre and in the States, by and large, turn a blind eye towards wide-spread violations of the Sharda Act. The prosecutions launched have been mostly symbolic. Thus, in Rajasthan, as many as 10,000 child marriages are performed openly on the occasion of "Akha Teej" towards the end of April every year.

—Times of India 27.5.81

—O. D. Sharma

A True Social Worker

A Meeting of the Sarvodaya Workers

Vimala Thakar

How are we as Social Workers to save ourselves from merely following the outward form and shell of the advice and teaching of saints?

Become Jeevan Sadhaks. Gandhiji was a Jeevan Sadhak. He gave us new socio-economic and political values. He showed them to us by living them. He often said, if freedom is got through violence and dishonesty, I do not want it. Freedom got through fear is of no value. He revolutionised the classical form of revolution as promulgated by Marx and gave it a different dimension. He revolutionised the motivation of revolution and spiritualised politics and lived whatever he taught.

Works like Khadi gramodya and Harijan upliftment were the physical aspects of his work but purity in living, purity of character, attempting to live as a Sadhak was the real thrust of his life work. No emphasis has been given to this aspect of his work. The Saints are like members of a large family, we should first try and understand what their message is. In the educated and enlightened citizens of the country there should be a clarity of thought about what should be done and a unity of action in carrying it out. There are dedicated workers of Gandhi in every corner of India, they should get together and find out where they stand and where to go from there.

To become Jeevan Sadhaks do not consider yourself as workers. Change your sight and use the work as a means of purifying the mind. Stay steady in religion and do your work. Work towards moksha or liberation in your social life. Workers stop being workers when they

strive to be sadhaks. If anyone is searching for a way of Sadhana and for purity of mind and purity in living then the nature and emphasis of the work will change.

In Rajasthan there may be 1,000 to 2,000 workers. If you get them together you will find that majority of them have joined in order to get a job and not because of the spirit of social work. You may come across about 100 to 200 workers who say that they want to be Sadhaks, that the purpose of life is moksha and that, that is the top priority in their lives. That is, people who have accepted the idea not only intellectually but also with their hearts and so are ready to sacrifice for it, if necessary.

Once you find such a nucleus of people and a unit or centre which is willing to accept such ideas and work with them, then the question of implementation arises.

- (1) A course of work for a period of one to two years will have to be drawn up.
- (2) The choice of worker to join such a course will be dependent on his own statement that his top priority in life is moksha.
- (3) The education of the worker has to take place first coupled with clarification of ideas like what is understood by the terms Liberation, Sadhana, Sadhak etc.
- (4) The kind of work of each Sadhak will be studied and sadhana given accordingly.
- (5) They will be given time for their work and for their sadhana, as the two will go together. The worker as a Sadhak now learns to live by his understanding. He learns to progress from living the roles of an actor, an experiencer to an observer, until the role of the observer too disappears and he responds from the depth of inner silence such that in every action and speech of his this inner silence is expressed; and then still further to the time when he lives and responds from the state of samadhi.
- (6) We do not take him away from society but try and change the direction of his outlook. With the change of outlook the

nature and emphasis of his work will change, no longer will it be of major importance how much one can produce and how much one can sell, but what is of real consequence is the meaning and purpose behind Khadi endeavours, and how it is affecting the life of the worker, whether his working conditions are suitable and pleasant, whether his living standards have improved; if not, why not? What can be done for him?

- (7) Once a year the person will be provided with an opportunity of going into seclusion or visiting and living for some time in a Yoga or like centre. During this time his family or other responsibilities will be looked after.
- (8) We have to ascertain how far an individual is ready to change his life. How far he is ready to accept certain rules of life and living, like :
 - (i) Living a life of absolute honesty and purity;
 - (ii) That there will be no hiring and keeping of servants in the Centres for since this is my life sadhana, the work is part of my sadhana too and other workers have become part of my family. So there is no paid worker in the centre, and no employee/employer relationships and so no unions either;
 - (iii) The Units remain small for then they are easy to manage and do not become impersonal;
 - (iv) There is no talk of profit and profit incentives.

There is total revolution, this is what Gandhi and Vinoba want us to achieve. How far are the Units ready to go? Values have to be changed. If we do not want to change the values in our Centres then how will society do it? If we get one Centre in each State to change its values then in 5 years the country will change. How many people are willing to take the first step? I will take it with them. But forget not, first there has to be acceptance of purity of character.

Venerated But Patently Bonded

Bina Jang

Virginia wolf once said in a poignant appraisal of women, "Have you any notion of how many books are written about women in the course of one year? Have you any notion how many are written by men? Are you aware that you are perhaps the most discussed animal in the universe?" Indeed, women are the most talked of, the most venerated, but ironically, the most patently bonded of the species.

Right from the time she is born, this womean perceives the sometimes subtle, but often blatant second class treatment doled out to her by her parents, or failing them from relatives and neighbourhood gossips and ultimately from society itself. This steady pulling down corrodes the very essence of her self-confidence and even an education which in itself is not always possible or complete, cannot help in stemming the rot of negativeness built up within her. She is the weaker sex, she is made to know and there are countless reminders of her physical subjugation in her daily life.

To studiously ignore the cases of wife beating and physical torture which some women have to bear in the name of matrimony as just "exceptional" and "sensational" and not a true barometer of the middle class world, would be incorrect. Not a few harrowing tales of educated women like teachers, doctors and others professionally trained—who were ill-treated, beaten and mercilessly tortured by their husbands, are brought before the women's organisations, who advised them to get a divorce from their husbands. These women are capable of earning a living for themselves and their children. But in most such cases the thought of divorce was fraught with all the middle class stigma attached to it.

This fear of upsetting social taboos, the emphasis on false prestige, is so very important to the middle class. The rich by and large, live out their own social and sexual norms, and the poor do not constantly have to 'prove' their respectability to their neighbours. So it is the rigid middle class with the strict morality which would prefer a woman to be a punching bag for her husband, then put her in a position where her decency would be questioned by a perfectly legitimate divorce. Maltreatment at home is aggravated by the constant feeling of physical insecurity on streets. As more and more women are stepping out of the sanctuary of their homes, they are faced with the surreptitiously groping hand, the obscene remark, the chain snatching. Night time only makes the situation more dangerous with its cloak of darkness. And so mothers fear if daughters are not safely back in the fold by a certain time. A mother emphasised the lack of proper police arrangements and added as an after-thought, "The police are often the worst offenders". A young student ruefully admitted that her parents restricted her movements at night for similar reasons, but added angrily, "It does not really matter whether it is dark, you know. You travel in a crowded bus or walk down Janpath, you're bound to find a person who tries to get fresh with you".

This lack of respect for a woman because she is a woman is an attitude which confronts a woman throughout. Supplying her a compartment in a train or a special ladies bus is only a temporary sanctuary, not the solution. In fact, the very necessity of having these special arrangements is in itself a reflection on the physical threat which haunts a woman outside her home. As a young man commenting on the recent introduction of a cordoned separate standing space for women in buses said, "what a sad commentary on the Indian male and his regard for women".

Dismissing this physical harassment as 'eve teasing' is a misnomer. Modern urban eve teasing has none of the light rubbing or mild mischief that the word suggests. In reality it is sexual, senseless and often vicious. Witness the recent incident in the Delhi University when boys of a local college went on the rampage under the pretext of Holi rivalry. They broke into colleges, stoned into class rooms, manhandled the girls, abused the boys and calmly left. Stringent measures to curb 'eve-teasing' are needed. To that extent the decision of the Jammu & Kashmir Assembly to make eve teasing

a punishable offence with a two year sentence, is a step in the right direction.

Interestingly, sociologists claim that social pressures have led to decline in employment of women and consequently to their economic downgrading. Add to this the fact that job opportunities are scarce for women as compared to men and their exploitation is on the increase, and you have a complex problem of educated, unemployed and un-self-confident womanhood. An ICSSR report has observed that "women's economic participation has been declining since 1921 both in percentage of workers to total female population and in their percentage to the total labour force. While the total number of women workers declined from 41.8 million in 1911 to 31.2 million in 1971, their total labour force declined from 34.4 per cent in 1911 to 17.35 percent in 1971. The percentage of women workers to total female population declined from 33.37 percent in 1911 to 11.85 percent in 1971".

The causes are hydra-headed. The ICSSR Survey reports that "an economy whose capacity to absorb men of working age is strained, does not encourage the elimination of traditional forms of discrimination against the economic activity by women". The majority of educated women come from middle class families among whom the attitude to women's employment is the most restrictive. In addition, employers see women as potential 'quitters'—they get married, have babies or leave when husbands are transferred and are too involved in the family life to give full attention to their work. This attitude smacks of discrimination.

Having surmounted the gargantuan obstacle of being employed, the average middle class woman finds herself burdened with the dual role of homemaker and earner. There are few, if any, institutions which supply a working woman with the facility of a creche nor does she have modern amenities to make housework easier.

Yet she is expected to fulfil her housework obligations single-handedly and with efficiency equal to a non-career woman. In the traditional set-up of Indian society, housework is woman's work and the men consider it a slur to their manhood to be asked to pitch in and help. So the husband and the wife both come in tired from work

but while the husband makes himself comfortable with the morning paper or a magazine, the wife busies herself with the evening meal for the children. Very few women can afford permanent domestic help now-a-days. As a distinguished working wife said, "A working woman certainly has more confidence, but in our society she is doubly exploited".

The high price that the working woman has to pay at home is carried over into work as well. Though not every employer is a slaving wolf, it is sometimes true that women are sexually exploited at work by their superiors. Recently an investigative report revealed the hazards faced by young female journalists who have to contend with amorous editors. A refusal to acquiesce to the demands of a superior can often lead to harassment as in the case of a young married teacher in a government school. An attractive lady, her beauty did not go unnoticed by her principal who made advances to her. When she rebuffed him he gave her a bad service record and retarded her promotion. But the lady was made of sterner stuff. She took the matter up with the then Lieut. Governor Shri Jagmohan and also appealed to the Education Council. Finally after much haranguing the case was cleared up in her favour. She got her record straightened but after a tough fight.

But it is time women stood up and fought for their due. Conditioned by an inhibiting society which venerates the silent suffering, Sati Savitri, a martyr to the whims of men and society, Indian women have found it difficult to band together to articulate their problems. But when they do it, it is a heartening change. In March this year, they held a huge rally to protest against rising prices. Women from far flung areas in the country came to Delhi to protest. Spear-headed by a left-wing organisation in Delhi the rally pinpointed the enormity of price-rise problem. Women with limited and controlled housekeeping budget are finding it difficult to supply their homes even with basic necessities, luxuries being a rare treat.

(Condensed by O. D. Sharma
—Courtesy LINK.)

Non Party Constructive Workers Convention

NEWS LETTER

Lok Sewak Sangh condemns "Home Coming"

The Lok Sewak Sangh views with deep concern the continuing decline in public standards and morality as reflected in the unending scourge of defections. It particularly notes with distress the decision of Mr. Y.B. Chavan, former Deputy Prime Minister, to throw all morality to the wind and join the ranks of Ayarams and Gayarams, a term which he himself coined as Union Home Minister to denounce the practice and to cry a halt to reckless and destructive opportunism.

Mr. Chavan has resigned from the Congress (U) and applied for admission to the Congress (I). Some political leaders have called upon him to resign from the Lok Sabha as he was elected to the House on a Congress (U) ticket. Mr. Chavan has denied that he is guilty of defection. He has chosen to describe his return to the Congress (I) as "home coming" and said that his decision to go back to the "real Congress" is a matter between him and the people of his constituency.

The Lok Sewak Sangh is surprised at the stand which Mr. Chavan has taken conveniently ignoring the recommendations of the Union Home Ministry's Committee on Defections. Ironically, this Committee was headed by none other than Mr. Chavan, then Union Home Minister. Its members included Lok Nayak Jaya Prakash Narayan, M. C. Setalvad, Mohan Kumaramangalam and the representatives of eight political parties and three independent groups in Parliament.

The Committee made several recommendations. Opinion was divided on some matters. Significantly, however, the Committee was agreed on the definition of a defector, which was as follows: "An elected member of a legislature who had been allotted the reserved symbol of any political party can be said to have defected, if, after being elected as a member of either House of Parliament or of the Legislative Council or the Legislative Assembly of a State or Union Territory, he voluntarily renounces allegiance to, or association with such political party, provided his action is not in consequence of a decision of the party concerned".

At the same time, the Committee recommended: "A defector should be debarred for a period of one year or till such time as he resigned his seat and got himself re-elected, from appointment to the office of a Minister (including Deputy Minister or Parliamentary Secretary) or Speaker or Deputy Speaker or any post carrying salaries or allowances to be paid from the Consolidated Fund of India or of the State or from the funds of Government Undertakings in the public sector in addition to those to which the defector might be entitled as a legislator".

The Lok Sewak Sangh calls upon Mr. Chavan to reconsider his action and not to do anything which gives a fresh spurt to the scourge in India. As a politician, he is entitled to choose the best way of serving the country. But his action makes a mockery of the recommendations of the very Committee which he had the privilege to chair. As a man of honour, he should resign his membership of the Lok Sabha and seek a fresh mandate of his constituency in keeping with the highest public morality. Self should not be put before the country.

Mrs. Gandhi has, time and again, expressed herself against some action to end defections. The Union Minister of Law and Justice, Mr. Shiv Shankar, told the Lok Sabha last year that he viewed defections "with concern, anguish and anxiety" and assured the House that the Government would bring forward some concrete measure as part of "a comprehensive bill on electoral reforms". Well over a year has gone by since Mr. Shiv Shankar spoke on March 28, 1980. Unfortunately, however, there is no sign of the promised bill. The malady is, meanwhile, getting worse.

The Lok Sewak Sangh, therefore, calls upon Mrs. Gandhi and her colleagues of the Congress (I) Parliamentary Board to desist from acceding to Mr. Chavan's request and admitting him to their party unless the latter first tenders his resignation from the Lok Sabha to which he was elected on the Congress (U) ticket. In doing so, Mrs. Gandhi would be establishing a healthy practice in keeping with the recommendations of the Chavan Committee on Defections. Grave damage has already been caused to the quality of public life in India. This must stop without further delay if our people are not to lose faith in the democratic institutions—a faith nurtured patiently over the decades by Mahatma Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru.

For me the different religions are beautiful flowers from the same garden, or they are branches of the same majestic tree. Therefore, they are equally true, though being received and interpreted through human instruments equally imperfect.

—M.K. Gandhi

National Convention on Present Situation

A National Convention on the present situation in the Country was held at Patti Kalyana (Haryana) from 8th to 10th May, 1981. This Convention was jointly sponsored by Gandhi Smarak Nidhi, Serva Sewa Sangh, Gandhi Peace Foundation, People's Union for Civil Liberties, National People's Committee and Citizens for Democracy.

The Convention began with a recitation from Kabir, a warm welcome from Shri O. P. Trikha on behalf of the Swadhyaya Ashram, Patti Kalyana and a message from Acharya J. B. Kripalani. The Convention issued a declaration the salient features of which are summarised in the succeeding paragraphs.

The mounting poverty, unemployment, inequality, spiralling prices, rampant corruption and exploitation of the poor have made the situation intolerable for the masses. Linguistic, Caste and Communal tensions accentuated by population explosion have assumed dangerous proportions. Women are being oppressed and assaulted. There is a grossly lop-sided distribution of power between the State and Society; the State is all-powerful and Society has no effective say. The Country is free but five lakhs of our villages are still in slavery. The excessive centralization of authority and absolute denial of any status and powers to the villages and people in general have failed to make a dent on the basic problems of poverty and injustice. The country is in the grip of violence and lawlessness. Justice and peace are fundamental to co-existence. In their absence, the village Society is unable to have co-existence. The country is faced with 3 serious challenges, viz. co-existence of 60 crores of people, the liberation of 5 lakh villages, and safe-guarding the fundamental rights of the Citizens.

The Convention was of the view that the Society has to carry a burden of its reconstruction/development on its shoulders instead of

depending upon the State for this task. The problems of poverty, unemployment and disparities can be tackled effectively if people integrate themselves into well-knit communities caring for and sharing with each other. A change in Society will have a profound influence on reforming politics and curbing excessive state power and its attendant evils.

The first task is to build up a Country-wide demand to make the village the primary unit of Government so that it can function as a self-governing Institution; to make elections to all the bodies at the District and intermediate levels mandatory and to entrust elections to the Election Commission.

Popular movement should be built up to make the parties in power or in opposition follow agreed rules, norms and conventions consistent with democratic values and for allowing only such parties to contest elections which are registered, function according to the Constitution, observe intra-party democracy and submit their audited accounts every year to the Election Commission.

Campaigns for prohibition can be effective means for mobilising women power. Promotion of a basic Hindustani language of, say, 2000 words and its popularisation could play a vital role in holding the nation together and sustaining nation-wide movement for reforms. Poor should be organised to resist injustice and oppression.

Sarvodaya movement must embrace both the village and the City. Cities and intellectuals must be constructively used in the movement for social changes. Measures should be taken to demonstrate how Gandhian approach can resolve the problems of industrial relations, the students problems and population explosion. The Convention urged that people should be made conscious of the horrendous consequences of a nuclear conflict on the sub-continent. It also called upon the anti-nuclear power proliferation forces all over the World to renew their pressures on the powers involved in aggravating the situation. Without World peace, poverty cannot be eradicated. The task before the Country entailed grim struggle which must be strictly non-violent and truthful. A number of bodies need to be set up to help strengthen society's resolve and instruments for ushering in needed changes and to monitor events and trends in all spheres of

activity. The constituent organisations of the Convention should develop suitable mechanism for contact, co-ordination and follow-up.

The Convention suggested some guide-lines for the Sarvodaya organizations and workers for carrying out the tremendous task of rebuilding Society. There are :

- (i) contact, survey and serve at least five Antodaya families;
- (ii) from a study of these families try to comprehend the forces responsible for their destitution and degradation;
- (iii) undertake some minimum reading of Gandhiji and social revolutionaries and selected socio-economic development issues;
- (iv) learn at least one Southern language if a Northerner, and vice-versa;
- (v) bring into the field a minimum of new workers from among women, harijans and minorities;
- (vi) conduct their own life activity in a manner that should inspire affection and confidence in the people towards Sarvodaya movement.

Sarvodaya organisations must chalk out a time-bound programme for their activities.

The Convention stressed the need for reservation of sphere and protections for village industries, need for an equitable term of trade between the agricultural and non-agricultural sectors and a net flow of resources from the urban to the rural areas to reverse the present trend which is the other way round.

Project—Porbandar Peace Centre—1981

Last year there were violent eruptions in Porbandar. More than 80 murders were committed. Vimalajee and friends took up the work of establishing peace in the City and reconstruction in the villages. As a result of "Shanti Anushthan" in September and pad-yatra in villages in December, as well as conferences of women, educationists and

Porbandar Taluks villages people, a new vibrant and positive atmosphere for peace was established.

Now since the beginning of this year, a peace centre for rural reconstruction work as well as a ground for steady normalisation of daily life in the city of Porbandar has been established with the inspiration of Vimalajee. Shri Amolakbhai Khimani has been chiefly responsible for guiding the work and two friends have been residing at the Peace Centre in Porbandar.

On the auspicious day of 30th January more than 12000 students from 33 schools and more than 1500 citizens gathered together at a prayer meeting in the City. They took the vow to eradicate the evils from their life which ultimately lead to violence and unhealthy conditions. 2500 persons signed these vows. Sarvodaya workers and Vimal Satsang Parivan has concertedly worked in the months of January-February on this. Also some more friends worked in March for the contacts of different groups of people, bank employees, L.I.C. employees, Vyayam Shalas and youngsters in the Kharva Community.

During the months of March to May more workers have visited the town and villages for establishing centres for Ambar Charkhas, gas plants and oil extraction centres in villages primarily and also in the City of Porbandar. Some centres in villages have already been functioning, and others will be established.

Shri Navalbhai Bhatt, a retired education inspector and a local worker well known and recognised by the villages has decided to offer himself as a full time honorary worker for all the different branches of this project.

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As soon as truth is practised, complexes begin to melt away. The man who practises truth knows no fear. He is neither rude nor arrogant. He does not suffer from the egoistic complex that he is truthful and others are sinners.

—Vimala Thakar

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The AWAKENING

MY LIFE MISSION

"I have been practising with scientific precision non-violence and its possibilities for an unbroken period of over fifty years.

"I have applied it in every walk of life—domestic, institutional, economic and political. I know of no single case in which it has failed where it has seemed sometimes to have failed. I have ascribed it to my imperfection.

"I claim no perfection for myself. But I do clear here to be a passionate seeker after truth, which is but another name of God.

"In the course of that search, the discovery of non-violence came to me. It spread in my life mission. I have no interest in living except for the prosecution of that mission."

—M.K. Gandhi

HATE THE SIN NOT THE SINNER

"Man and his deed are two distinct things whereas a good deed should call forth approbation and a wicked deed disapprobation, the doer of the deed, whether good or wicked, always deserve respect or pity as the case may be". "Hate the sin and not the sinner" is a precept which, though easy enough to understand is rarely practised, and that is why the poison of hatred spreads in the world.

—M.K. Gandhi

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AWAKENING

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Ch B. Hare
17/8/81

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LET MY COUNTRY AWAKE

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;

Where knowledge is free;

Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow domestic walls;

Where words come out from the depth of truth;

Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;

Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary desert sand of dead habit;

Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought and action—

Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

—Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941)

The Awakening

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Editorial

During the last few weeks, I have had the chance of travelling over long distances in some parts of this vast country by train and by road, walking into some villages and spending time with the common-man in the towns. During this tour I passed through parts of central India, lived in some of the towns in Maharashtra and was very lucky to get the chance to spend some days in a small city like Ahmednagar. I also had the opportunity to spend some days in Pune and Bombay. During all this tour I saw mills and factories, working at great speed. Trade was being conducted with briskness and new schemes of development taking shape, about which the concerned officers were very enthusiastic. I talked to people of varying occupations, saw lavish arrangements being made for a minister's stay in a rest house, but then I also saw people live on the footpaths. For such people a stretch of steeply inclined cloth was the only shelter and it was rare to see a plastic cover over such a cloth sheet, in spite of the heavy rains which had broken in the area because of the onset of monsoon in Maharashtra. In Pune I was obliged to visit a restaurant opposite to the railway station every day for my food and there I always found a queue of customers waiting for seats. But outside this restaurant itself, I saw every time a deformed man sitting near a drain cover and begging for alms.

You change the scene and you find that the villagers were very happy because the rains had set in and they were even celebrating the break of the monsoon. Ploughing had started in its full swing with the former standing behind the wooden plough and a pair of oxen being driven by him with the help of a whip, very much like to his great grand fathers must have done hundreds of years back. The villager was using the same old wheel-cart with its screechig wooden wheel and its iron covering. His approach to life and his thoughts on issues like dowry or progress remained unchanged. I was very

much interested to see this old living style even in the city of Ahmednagar, which has its schools and colleges and has had the attention of Christian missionaries for ages now. As an example, I found the water-well being used as a source of getting drinking water with great zest. Every one brought his or her own bucket and the rope tied to it and after using it for filling the metal-vessel, the bucket and the rope lay on the ground, trampled at times by feet covered with shoes or sandals. There was no hesitation in giving a little bath even to the cattle near this well with the buckets that man or women brought and then taking water home for drinking in the metal vessels.

After this trip, I have been wondering if we struggled for freedom to live a life of this type in a free India. The sacrifices made by our countrymen and the long speeches made by our leaders for awakening the masses, were devoted to this end, I am forced to consider. Or we had plans for a better life which we have not been able to achieve as yet? Have we failed in our mission, or has our progress been too slow? It is worth being considered whether the Indian continues to be slow in thinking and also in action? Why is he not alert and take advantage of the freedom he achieved and raise the annual wealth of the country? Why has he not taken full advantage of the freedom? In this connection it is interesting to notice that the moment our country man is placed in a western atmosphere, he is transformed in no time and he adopts the techniques of speed and a better living followed in the western countries, but when he lives in India he continues to be passive in his approach to life. That probably explains why India has been undergoing invasions from various outsiders and there is hardly much to recite in return.

Is the analysis that has been placed above connected with the climate of the country, which makes people dull and reduces their initiative. Does the climate and surroundings take away all the man's vigour and make him lead a life as it comes? On the other hand, three and a half decades of freedom for a western country (or Japan) would have brought a revolutionary change in their living conditions, made people conscious of their rights and even awaken in them a sense of duty. How can we explain the lack of participation of the people in this movement for progress? Or can we explain this slow speed and the continuation of our age-old traditions to the dominance of religion over our lives. Everything is dependent on God's will

and the human being has no initiative and no power to make a change in the pattern of life that has been laid down for him by a superior power. Another possible reason can be our continuing with the capitalistic economy in which the poor becomes poorer and there is a rapid concentration of wealth amongst some families.

In any case, there is progress to see when you move out, but at the same time you have also to see the spectacle of immense poverty in its various forms. This is not a very happy sight for a conscientious observer and obviously various reasons come up for consideration. In contrast to this we are always, forced to think of the very fast growing economy of Japan and the tremendous effort that has been put-in there to cover their "great defeat". However, the question that I have raised is a part of a non-ending debate and needs to be discussed again and again, in which the farmer and the labourer should also participate.

We will on our side be very glad to get the views of our readers on this subject or even short articles, for possible publication. A page or two can be set apart for our readers, if we get an encouraging response.

—Y. R. MEHTA

"Dead machinery must not be pitted against the millions of living machines represented by the villagers scattered in the seven hundred thousand villages of India."

—M. K. Gandhi

The only Remedy—Back to Gandhi

J. B. Kripalani

Though crippled by partition, we started on our course as a free nation with high hopes for our future. Why then, after thirty years and more, do we find ourselves in a sorry state? In my humble opinion, this is due to our departing from the path chalked out by one whom in feigned reverence we call "The father of the Nation". Of course, our ambitions were high. We wanted to be rich and powerful in record time. Instead of working to provide the primary needs of the people—food, clothing, housing, education and health care, we first began by trying to build heavy industry. For this we had neither the necessary capital nor the skills required. The result is plain today to everybody except the holders of power.

If we mean business, even today the path is there, "Back to Gandhi".

I had thought that in this material age, it would take centuries for mankind to understand Gandhiji's social philosophy infatuated as it was by the ideologies of the capitalist west and the communist east. However, both the concepts of 'laissez faire' and 'dictatorship of the proletariat' have failed to deliver the goods.

Labour Force Eliminated

The fact is that both these systems are the products of the 'industrial revolution'. The western countries did not draw the proper lessons even from the great depression of the early thirties. Instead of switching back to decentralised production, they furthered research in science and technology to increase centralised production. First, there was rationalization in industry which diminished employment by

about thirty per cent. Automation has further reduced employment by eighty per cent. Now we have computers and a variety of electronic gadgets. These make it possible for just a few technicians to supervise the entire process of production even in big factories. All this has created large scale unemployment. Instead of taking away the drudgery of labour, the labourer himself is being eliminated.

The only answer of the governments in the advanced countries of the west to the problem of large scale unemployment has been to provide doles to the unemployed to buy the minimum necessities of their daily life. These doles are euphemistically referred to as 'unemployment insurance' and 'social security'. But these are expensive without adding to production. To pay for these, the governments there go in for heavy deficit financing leading to acute inflation. On the other hand, their huge machines produce a variety of goods which the markets are unable to absorb. In some countries, therefore, even essential items like bread, butter, milk and fruit are being destroyed or thrown away, though these things are urgently needed in the poor countries.

As for the Communist countries, "the dictatorship of the proletariat" has merely turned out to be the dictatorship of a coterie of self-perpetuating politicians. There, too, the economic questions have not been solved. There is chronic shortage of consumer goods.

Weapons of Destruction

Let us now look at the international situation. Science and technology have helped to produce weapons of destruction, which the producers are unable to use without destroying themselves and the world. Nobody wants a war today. There is a war going on in West Asia between Iran and Iraq. Everybody else, apart from the contenders, wants a 'political solution' to end that war. Even in the case of Afghanistan, our Prime Minister says that 'a political solution' must be found for the withdrawal of Russian forces from there!

What is the meaning of a 'political solution' to an international conflict? It means that differences between nations must be settled through peaceful negotiations. After World War I, Woodrow Wilson said that the peace of the world could come only through disarmament and 'open diplomacy'. If it was so then, it is more necessary today,

when there is a continuing threat of the use of nuclear weapons in a war. Every nation is trying to develop these weapons, whether it can afford them or not.

Failure of Science

So, both in the economic field and in international politics, science and technology have failed to solve the crucial problems. However, it cannot be denied that they have given birth to a wonderful civilisation and a kind of culture. Man can boast today that he has conquered the moon and the stars and the outer space. All this knowledge, if properly used, may help mankind. But will it be properly used ?

Courtesy : Vigil Weekly

IMMORTAL DEEDS

When a man dies, his works also stop, except three : acts of charity which are continued, knowledge by which all profit, and righteous issues which prays for him.

—Mohammed

They only Serve who Rise and Act

Vimala Thakar

To Whom Shall I address my words ?

(1) To the starving millions, who are eager to buy food, clothing and shelter by selling everything that they possess ? (2) Voters (3) Children (4) Young daughters or (5) Even their wives or husbands as the case may be.

To Whom Shall I address my words ?

To the millions of the lower middle class people consisting mostly of unskilled labour, who have tasted Money and the pleasures it brings ? They want only one thing—MORE AND MORE MONEY. THEY CAN BARGAIN FOR MONEY BY USING THEIR WEAPONS OF STRIKES, HOOLIGANISM, ARSON, LOOT and KILLINGS.

To Whom Shall I address my words ?

To those educated employed and unemployed millions, who are anxious to obtain economic and social security at any cost ? At the cost of all Moral, Cultural and Human values ?

To Whom Shall I address my words ?

To those who are in Government services ? They are out to please their political bosses and to stoop down to any level in doing so ?

To Whom Shall I address my words ?

To the custodians of law and order as well as security of the person and property of the citizens ? They are no more custodians of the citizens' lives. They will obey any and every order—written or oral—not only of their immediate superior but also of any political

VIPs or even the relatives of the MLAs, M.Ps and ministers of State or Central Cabinets, if it suits their petty little self-interests.

To Whom Shall I address my words ?

To political leaders and workers ?

To Industrialists and Businessmen ?

To Teachers or Students at the Universities ?

Everyone belonging to perhaps every category mentioned above, is well aware of what is going on in the country. The Intellegentia has been writing about the Crisis of Character; the Crisis of Confidence and about rampant corruption in every walk of life. The leaders of all political parties do take cognizance of these problems. And yet there is no swift, competent and timely action taken either by the government, the political parties or by the people at large in either the economic or the political walks of life.

Do we really believe that poverty and starvation cannot be eradicated from this land ? Do we really believe that the present process of urbanization and centralized mass scale production cannot be reversed and the process of villagizing industries through community ownership cannot be set in ?

If we do not, it is high time that we create a National will to achieve it by launching a Nation Wide Campaign for : "Prosperity Through Proper Technology".

Whom are we waiting for, to strike against the ills, malpractices, corruption and goondaism employed as a systematic technique for winning elections ? Are elections the festivals of political parties ?

It is high time that a nation wide campaign is launched by all the same, sensitive, sensible and serious minded persons, for demanding "fair and free polls".

They do not serve who watch and wait. They only serve who Rise and Act. Today is the time to act.

It is the people, it is we, who must act collectively. Every town and city should create a non-partisan non-sectarian national forum. It would be the primary cell of a peoples' movement. The members of such cells could come together to organize a district cell. The members of the district cell could campaign through the villages to awaken the people and organize village cell.

Public meetings, processions, conferences and conventions have outlived their day. Door to Door approach or small group meetings would be the only humanitarian way out. Person to person communication would not require collection of huge funds and formation of committees to handle them. Voluntary service and necessary sacrifice of time and energy would be the test of our Faith in God, Trust in Man and Love of the Country.

We who are not actively engaged in party and power politics; we who are not BIG Industrial Houses or Business concerns; we who are not in government services, should realize that Today is the time to act. Tomorrow could be Too Late :

- (1) The creation of a peoples' national will.
- (2) The focusing of national energies on the specific issues of :
 - Elimination of Starvation.
 - Elimination of Unemployment.
 - Villagisation of Industries.
 - Fair and free polls.
- (3) The determination to exercise our civil, economic and political rights and to discharge our legal and moral responsibilities towards the country.

These three points would enable us psychologically to rally round —
The honour of human beings :

- The dignity of parliamentary democracy
- The divinity of Freedom for Man
- The comparison for starving fellow beings.

If these issues do not become rallying points for the youth of India — We shall be doomed. If the youth waits for a Super-man or Woman to come and function as a Saviour, all our hope for Freedom, Fraternity and Equality would be rendered meaningless.

Let every citizen commit himself—herself to the noble task of devoting TIME and ENERGY every day to awaken this slumbering nation and persuade it to rise and act immediately.

WORDS OF WISDOM

Be united,
Speak in harmony,
Let your minds apprehend alike,
Common be your prayer,
Common be the end of your assembly,
Common be your resolution,
Common be your deliberations,
Alike be your feelings,
Unified be your hearts,
Common be your intentions,
Perfect be your unity.

—Rig Veda

Towards Indo-Pak Friendship

Inder Jit

Indo-Pakistan relations have been reviewed at the highest level against the background of the visit of Mr. P. V. Narasimha Rao to Islamabad last month. The South Block is happy to get further evidence of a desire for cordial relations on the part of the Pakistani leaders. This is reflected in the latest gesture made by General Zia. First, he set aside protocol and received India's Ambassador to Pakistan, Mr. Natwar Singh, when the latter asked for an appointment with the President in the absence of the Foreign Minister, Mr. Agha Shahi, who was out of town. Interestingly, the appointment was given within half an hour of the request. An Ambassador visiting his home country for consultations normally calls on the Foreign Secretary and in special cases on the Foreign Minister. Second, President Zia made the additional gesture of sending a warm, personal message to India's Prime Minister and also ten dozens of Anwar Ratauls—Pakistan's version of the famous mangoes grown at village Rataul in Ghaziabad district and known for their special flavour and sweetness.

New Delhi has also noted with interest a change in the tone of the Press in Pakistan following Mr. Narasimha Rao's visit. It adopted a certain attitude before the talks, which was unfriendly and even bordered on hostility. During the talks, the tone showed a qualitative restraint even if a couple of articles in the leading Pakistani papers caused eyebrows to be raised among the members of the Indian delegation. A study of the Press writings since Mr. Narasimha Rao's visit shows that the Press is no longer hostile even if it is not positively friendly. This is saying a great deal for the Pakistani Press which has many hawks as my own encounter with leading editors and newsmen during my visit to Pakistan earlier this year showed. Some of the leading Pakistani editors have not visited India even once since partition

and, therefore, continue to see India through thick, coloured glasses. The Editor-in-Chief of Pakistan Times, Mr. Suleri, for instance, visited India late last year for the first time after a gap of over 35 years !

Much that is significant from India's viewpoint has happened during the past five weeks and more. Above all, Pakistan has succeeded in getting what it has coveted for long : F-16s—the latest US fighter-bombers. Pakistan has initially asked for two squadrons, namely, 36 aircraft (16 plus two trainers per squadron) and the US has acceded to the request. Indeed, the US has decided to somehow "pinch" a squadron of F-16s from its existing commitments for Pakistan this year itself. Earlier, Pakistan was expected to get these planes after October 1982, when the promised US aid of \$ 500 m per year for five years is due to become operative. But Pakistan has now decided to buy two squadrons straightaway with the help of Saudi Arabia and other Islamic countries. (Each F-16 is expected to cost Islamabad over \$ 20 m or about \$ 375 m per squadron, according to Pakistani sources. Authoritative Indian sources, however, assert that the plane is being offered on concessional prices at \$ 8 m each;) India, no doubt has Jaguars and MIG-23s. But these aircraft are a generation behind the F-16s.

Several leaders and commentators in India have felt shocked by the F-16 deal. Not a few suddenly seem to believe that Pakistan has gained at India's expense from Mr. Rao's visit. Angrily remarked one leader : "The Islamabad joint statement should not have included the sentence : 'Both sides agreed that each country has the sovereign right to acquire arms for self defence'. We know what Pakistan means—and wants". Some have even stated that the Narasimha Rao mission "accomplished a lot less than he is given credit for". One leading daily has asserted that the "innocents in the South Block ought to be held responsible for negligence of a kind that cannot be easily excused". Some analysts have stated : "As far as we know, there was no demurral on this point, no formal submission from the Indian side about this or that weapon system being acceptable". They have noted India's protest against the formal announcement of the F-16 deal. But they dismiss this as "belated and somewhat of an after-thought". Other than that, it is argued, "it is difficult to see the reason for the official ejaculation".

Most of these and other comments are based on ignorance, even innocence. Certain basic facts have been clear from the day Mr. Narasimha Rao returned to New Delhi. Pakistan's decision to acquire F-16s came up for discussion twice in Islamabad. First, when Mr. Agha Shahi candidly explained to Mr. Rao at length his country's plans. Second, when Mr. Rao called on President Zia. Mr. Rao was under no illusion about Pakistani intentions and what he could do. Nevertheless, he conveyed to the Pakistani leaders India's strong opposition to their intention to acquire F-16s. (No protest could be made than as Washington's final decision was not known.) The induction of these fighter-bombers, it was argued, was unnecessary and would willy nilly push the sub-continent into an arms race. (An Indian Defence team is now in Moscow to acquire the improved version of MIG-23 and some MIG-25s). Further, such an arms race would undermine what the Pakistani leaders said they avowedly desired: friendly relations between the two countries. Both Gen. Zia and Mr. Agha Shahi said in reply what the Pakistani President conveyed in his message to Mrs. Gandhi.

Islamabad broadly argues as follows: "We genuinely want friendship with India. We are asking for only a few planes. We can get no more than five squadrons, namely 80 F-16s, even if we use all the \$ 2 billion aid to acquire them. You have already gone for 125 Jaguars—and are making your own MIGs. Further, we have also to use aid for acquiring M-60 battle tanks and other military hardware". But the question is: why does Pakistan need F-16s? Islamabad replies: "Our Air Force today consists mainly of F-85 star fighters, Chinese-manufactured MIG-19s and Mirages 3 and 5. All these have become obsolete and the F-85 is a 'death trap'. We need to put a stop to air violations and casualties by MIG-23s with Afghan Air Force markings." Does Islamabad expect any major trouble on its western border? This question was specifically put by Mr. Rao to Mr. Shahi in the context of Islamabad's decision to seek a political solution of the Afghanistan issue. Significantly, the latter replied: "No, we don't". Mr. Rao further queried: "Where then is the need?" But he merely replied: "We are seeking only a few..." Pakistan's Foreign Minister subsequently tried to allay Indian fears reflected in the saying: once bitten twice shy. Mr. Agha Shahi revived Islamabad's proposal for an Indo-Pakistani accord on force ratios. Mr. Rao, however, reminded Mr. Shahi of the understanding reached during his visit to

New Delhi. India then urged that the issue should be taken up only "at the appropriate time"—after a broad political understanding had been reached. Mr. Agha Shahi accepted the suggestion and also agreed not to air the matter publicly. (Remember, India took strong exception to Mr. Agha Shahi's surprise proposal on force ratios in his banquet speech in New Delhi. Many viewed it as an exercise in one-upmanship.) President Zia also broached the subject during his talk with Mr. Rao. But the latter pointed out that he and Mr. Agha Shahi had already agreed not to talk about it yet. Prior to the Islamabad meeting, Pakistan was also said to have been keen to revive its proposal for a meeting between the Commanders of the two countries.

Islamabad has also sought to reassure New Delhi by emphasising that it has agreed to accept US aid after clarifying three points of principle. First, it will not join any military pact. Second, it will not lease any bases. Third, it will not accept any military aid. In fact, Islamabad has now informed New Delhi that it had turned down first a US offer of giving Pakistan a portion of the \$ 400 m aid for military purchases on concessional rates and next as grant-in-aid by the Buckley Mission. It will now pay market related interest charges of about 13 to 14 per cent for the aid for military purchases, according to Pakistani sources. Importantly, the final position in regard to the US aid, I am told, is as follows : Pakistan will receive over a five-year period a total and of \$ 3 billion as against the earlier figure of \$ 2.5 billion. This figure will be made up of \$ 1.7 billion for military sales, \$ 800 m for economic aid and \$ 500 m under PL 480 and towards rescheduling of the debt repayments. Economic aid originally totalled \$ 500 m.

Not only that, Islamabad has sought to assure India that it stands firmly by non-alignment and that Mr. Agha Shahi is pursuing non-alignment "with the zeal of a new convert". He also has the support of Gen. Zia. India for its part has once again reassured Islamabad through Mrs. Gandhi's message for Gen. Zia that it wishes to live in peace with Pakistan—and fully respects its independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity. But mutual suspicions persist. Explained an informed source : "Many important people in Pakistan even today question the advantages of non-alignment and feel it would perhaps be better to get aligned once again. Further, it is not easy for a military regime to resist the offer of arms and other blandishments

by the super powers". New Delhi does not doubt the assurances and explanations offered by President Zia and Mr. Agha Shahi in regard to the terms and conditions of the latest US aid. However, it feels it cannot ignore what President Reagan and his Secretary of State, Mr. Haig, have been saying—even if this is on their own and not confirmed by the Pakistani leaders.

One heartening fact remains. Recent exercises in confidence building are beginning to yield results. Pakistan may go ahead and acquire F-16s. But its people have been assured through Mr. Rao's timely visit that this is not on account of New Delhi. Indeed, a section of informed opinion in Pakistan is beginning to ask: Do we really need F-16s? Islamabad has decided to participate in the international trade fair in New Delhi in a big way this winter and has booked 2,000 sq meters of space also. The long-postponed hockey matches will be played between the two countries and a Pakistani polo team is expected to visit India this winter. Pakistan's Ambassador, Mr. Abdul Sattar, will address India's National Defence College in near future and Mr. Natwar Singh will likewise speak to Pakistan's Defence College. Gen. Zia has proposed visits by Pakistani military and civilian delegations to India's training centres and also visits by Pakistani scientists. This trend towards normalisation is healthy and needs to be strengthened. As Mrs. Gandhi said at her press conference recently that both sides should strive to promote friendship even if this be by short steps.

Courtesy : INFA

No Comment

"A move has been initiated by the House Committee of the Rajya Sabha for the allotment of DDA Flats and plots to M.Ps. on a priority basis..... Other matters that came up before the House Committee reveal interesting sidelights about the requirements of M.Ps. Some M.Ps want coloured glazed tiles in their kitchen, others want provision of false ceiling for air conditioning and yet others want 'Jhullas' in their back lawn".

Hindustan Times
28.5.81

"Some one asked me yesterday whether India should follow a system of management derived from America or one derived from Japan. I replied that I should like to see a system appear that is derived from India. I think we should start working on this, go back to the sources of Indian Thought and idealism, bring it to the present day, learn what we can from the West and certainly from Japan, but finally we must produce an answer that is essentially Indian".

India Today

"The Railways have cancelled 300 passenger trains all over the country due to coal shortage" and "the number of such cancellations has been mounting since the past two weeks or so".

The Statesman
8.6.81

"The nationalised coal industry has achieved a record production of 114 million tons in 1980-81 against 103.98 in 1979-80 and it is moving towards attaining higher targets in 1981-82".

The Statesman
9.6.81

—O. D. Sharma

Backward Classes and the Reservation Issue

(Reservation of posts and admissions etc. problem raised its ugly head in Gujarat State recently. There were wide-spread disturbances. It tended to spread to other states even. The problem had earlier rocked Chandigarh, Punjab and Haryana states. The Scheduled Castes, Scheduled Tribes and backward classes have unequivocally stood for reservation of posts to be continued, whereas the antagonists of reservation have stood steadfast for its revocation. The government has by and large stood firmly for the status-quo. It will be of interest to our readers to know the views of Vimalaji — our philosopher, and guide, on this controversial issue. Her views are reproduced here. The issue is also thrown open to the readers for sending their views to us for printing in the next issue.)

To understand the present situation prevailing in the country we will have to ponder about many matters.

Why are Reservations planned ? How are they maintained ? The situation arising out of its abuse, and it poses a challenge to meet its misuse. A challenge to arrest the exploitation of backward classes of their backwardness. How to change the attitude of increasing inhuman, self-centeredness. And how to plan the programme for attaining social equanimity, economic justice and getting them their rights as envisaged in the Constitution. All these issues require deep thinking. We shall go into some details.

Reservations were planned to fulfil the aspirations expressed in the Constitution, and still its nature is different in different states. The basic objective of this policy, that the backward classes could reach the educational, social and economic standards of the upper classes, has not been realised. For this a national policy is essential.

Such national policy should be declared on political and non-political social workers level, and should be announced collectively at public meetings from village to village.

Political parties are abusing the government policy in the name of Reservations. They have blatantly misused this disorder for their short term self interest in Services and all other fields of life. And as a result of that, strong feelings of anger, excitement and envy have been generated in the public mind. Had this policy not been abused, it is probable that excitement, violent misdeeds and arson might not have taken place. Creation of a strong national will is imperative in all walks of life, to arrest such misuse. It is also necessary to evolve a code of conduct.

It is our experience that backwardness of the backward classes cannot be eliminated by mere reservations. And hence it is essential to plan some speedier measures to eradicate backwardness. We should create a volunteer corps from upper classes for this purpose. This corps could formulate programmes to this end. They should undertake the responsibility of imparting eight fold education to them :

1. Education of illiteracy
2. Instructions about proper sanitation
3. Making them conscious about culture
4. Child welfare
5. Health care
6. General knowledge
7. Economic self-reliance through cottage and small scale industries
8. Education for the conducting of local self-rule.

To have a correct perspective of the whole problem it is necessary to understand the condition of the upper classes. The latter have gradually become more money-centered and more self-centered and intolerant in the last thirty years. One can't refrain from making such a statement. They cannot mentally accept the responsibility of giving a considered thought about the society, the country and the forty percent population living below the poverty line. They have no grace left for having normal faith in basic human values. Short sightedness, hostile attitude, self-centered initiatives and an absolutely materialistic approach have made them mainly dependent, lacking in self-confidence and totally leaning on the government. This has made them also insensitive and harsh. Even though 40% of the population is starving, they do not see any other thing than dreaming for amelioration of their standard of living, more and more and more money, pleasure and security. These are their mottos in life.

The outlook for life based on the principle of "struggle for existence" will not in anyway narrow the gap of economic inequalities. They will have to be persuaded and made conscious of their security and long term interest only through raising the standard of backward classes equal to their own.

In order that the backward classes share the life on an equal basis and join the mainstream of civic life, a chain of night schools, industrial centres, cultural centres, health centres, maternity homes and spiritual centres will have to be created. Training camps for adolescents and also for women will have to be arranged, institutions for voters' education would have to be opened and special documentary and educational films will have to be produced. This will make their understanding and outlook wider.

The elite of the society will have to take the initiative to avoid a class conflict and class hatred. A violent revolution could only be avoided if this unfortunate, exploited, downtrodden, neglected class is uplifted to an equal standard with tender love. Otherwise, many political influences, will drag them towards totalitarianism by pleasing the backward classes for their many objectives, giving them economic and political enticements.

Authoritarianism could only be resisted rightly by creating a true democracy. The royal road to this end lies in awakening the people and educating them properly. Villagisation of industries is the only cure to make people self-reliant. And therefore, all the service organizations will evolve a three-years co-ordination programme :

1. Planning for drinking water in Harijan localities.
2. Housing schemes by people's labour in Harijan areas and villages.
3. Organising health and maternity centres in their areas.
4. Cottage or village industries centres based on cooperatives or village self-reliance schemes.
5. Organising pre-primary schools and kindergartens in their areas.

If a movement based on this five fold programme could be launched, the atmosphere of conflict, envy, suspicion and violence would be entirely changed.

The question of Roster System etc., an offshoot of the reservation policy, is a matter for the experts to decide and hence I refrain from making any statement.

(Translated by Kalyan Bhai Shah—Courtesy : Bhumiputra)

There is hardly any difference between Sarvodaya and Total Revolution. If there is any, then Sarvodaya is the goal and Total Revolution the means. Total Revolution is basic change in all aspects of life. There cannot be Sarvodaya without this.

—Jayaprakash Narayan

The Judiciary under Siege

Manmohan Choudhuri

In the course of the hearing of a writ petition filed by retired Justice and now a practising advocate, Shri V.M. Tarkunde, on the extension of the terms of three additional Judges of Delhi High Court, Justice Tulzupurkar, Vacation Judge of the Supreme Court, has been reported to have made the following remarks :

“The manner in which orders have been passed does not inspire confidence in the Government. There have been instances of Judges taking oath at 11.45 p.m to avoid break in service. Will even clerks be asked to do it? That is why there is cause for anxiety for an early decision. Even clerks are not treated like this”.

Heavens will not Fall

This remark was occasioned by the contemptuous disregard by the Union Government of the Supreme Court's directive that the three Judges in question be informed of the decision of the Government at least ten days before the expiry of their terms. The judges were given three months' extension in March after the expiry of the two year term for which they were originally appointed additional judges. According to later news, the Supreme Court was informed on 5th June, a day before the expiry of the the three Judges' terms, that one of them had been given an extension for one year and the two others had been sacked. Mr. Justice Tulzupurkar has advised the Union Government to reconsider their decision not to extend the terms of the two judges and that they be allowed to continue till the writ petition challenging piecemeal extension of the terms of judges was disposed of. “The heavens will not fall if they are allowed to continue”, he has reportedly remarked.

Earlier, a four-judge bench dealing with the writ petition had expressed its concern over the practice of informing the judges only at the last minute of the decision to extend their terms or terminate their services.

The three judges who were obliged to take the oath at midnight belong to the Nagpur Bench of the Bombay High Court. A Law Ministry spokesman has denied that the Ministry had anything to do with it. According to him the judges' terms were to be extended from April 26 and the State Government and the High Court were informed of the decision on April 24. The explanation sounds unconvincing. Why could not the decision have been taken earlier allowing a decent period of time for the follow-up?

Insinuations and Sinister Advice

At about the same time when the Supreme Court was agitatedly issuing directives to the Government, the "Legal Cell" of the Congress (I) was busy with plans to soften up the Judiciary. The latter was accused of getting involved in "political" controversies and stepping beyond the limits of their 'judiciary' function. It was warned that this would make it the target of public criticism. That a concerted attempt to denigrate and demoralise the Judiciary was in the offing was made amply clear when Shri Satyanarayana, General Secretary of the Congress (I), exhorted lawyers to explain to the people that judges were no gods and that they were intentionally creating obstacles in the way of the party fulfilling its promises to the people.

Shri Ashoke Sen, of the Emergency fame and now chairman of the Supreme Court Association, warned the judges not to do any such thing as would irritate two-thirds of the M.P.s and motivate them to indict the judges. Judges were urged to realise that the task of meeting our justice was an important part of the Government's job like the administrative and the legislative functions and the judges should help to maintain a proper balance among the three.

The principle on which Dr. Goebbels, the Propaganda Minister of Hitler, functioned was that people would come to believe a lie if it was repeated a number of times. This principle has obviously been adopted by the ruling party. The charge that the Judiciary was

coming in the way of implementing progressive policies has already been repeated umpteen times from many platforms without a single convincing example of such interference ever being given in support of the charge, Shri Sen's advice about judges helping to maintain a 'balance' appears preposterous coming from the mouth of a seasoned lawyer. He should have known that the Judiciary was not an instrument of the Government. Its task is not to back up the executive as apparently Shri Sen's expectation is, but to protect the rights of the people from intentional or unintentional encroachments. True, judges are not gods and are liable to err, but neither are legislators and ministers. That the former are vulnerable human beings does not mean that the latter have the right to ride roughshod over them. Yet this is exactly what is being attempted to be put across to the people.

Issue of Independence of Judiciary

The judicial system of our country is costly and slow and the poor man has usually a very slender chance of getting a fair deal from it. This fact is being sought to be made use of for confusing the people and as a reason for robbing the Judiciary of its independence. Far-reaching reforms in the system are necessary for making the process of justice cheaper and more expeditious for the people, but the independence of the Judiciary is a very precious concept and does not, in any way, come in the way of such reforms. The concept has to be preserved and strengthened at any cost. It is time a concerted effort was made by all those with commitment to freedom and democracy to educate the people about the real nature of the issue before them.

Courtesy : Vigil Weekly

Get-together of Thinking Minds

Mukund Savani

Introduction

A unique camp was held at Mcleodganj, Dharamsala from June 10th to 14th, 1981. The camp was organised by Shri Omkar chand, ex MLA of Himachal Pradesh, a dedicated, genuine and social servant for years and it was sponsored by Servants of the People Society. The Camp was directed by Vimalaji and it was unique in terms of the depth of its theme, nature of the participants and importance of the place.

Theme

The camp was called "A Get-together of Thinking Minds". There is a crisis of character in the country, the national life is deteriorating fast and a state of turbulence and anarchy prevails in the country. The urgency of the situation and the absence of credible national and regional leadership based on public trust, makes it necessary that we act NOW, and the work must begin at the individual level. Further, it is of utmost importance that one understands all the dimensions of the current problems, their root causes and their inter-relatedness with the nation as a whole. A particular contribution by the individual would then be related to the total transformation of our national psyche and the upliftment of the vast human magnitude of our nation would then occur creating true people and just democratic society. A very comprehensive theme.

The Unique Feature

The principal speaker of the camp was Vimalaji. The participants numbered more than 150 and they were an educated, mature and

responsive group as a whole. Besides, there was a strong presence of educated women, a rare happening in gatherings of this type. Therefore, Vimalaji turned the gathering into a participative dialogue. Many of the participants gave their views on the understanding of the current burning issues and Vimalaji gave all such divergent views a common direction leading to coherence and solidarity of action.

Nature of the Participants

It was a unique gathering with leading personalities of Himachal, Punjab, Haryana and Delhi states from all walks of life coming together : (1) Representatives of most major political parties such as Congress (I), Congress (U), Janata BJP, CPI-M, etc; MLA's, ex-MLA's, ex Chief Minister of Himachal etc; (2) Members of Judiciary and advocates; (3) Members of Spiritual groups such as Chinmaya Mission; (4) Members from educational institutes such as Deans, professors; principals, teachers of universities and schools; (5) Highest officers and members of the Tibetan Community in exile and Indo-Tibetan Society; (6) Prominent Officers of Servants of the People Society; (7) Members of the journalist community such as reporters of Indian Express and Tribune. (8) Members of the international community including a prominent educational psychologist from USA; (9) Prominent members of the business community; (10) Officers of the military establishment. (11) High ranking officers of local governing institutes such as municipality chiefs, Panchayats, BDO, Medical institutions, IGP, DC, DIG, LIC, etc; and (11) Leading women social workers of various fields, young social workers and students.

The Place

The camp was held at Swargashram in Mcleodganj. His Holiness Dalai Lama spent his first 7 years in India at this place. Situated at a height of 7,000 feet, it is surrounded by magnificent mountains, some covered with snow. The Ashram is spacious, surrounded by pretty scenery, hikes, meadows and forests of giant conifers. Mcleodganj has a population of about 5,000 Tibetan refugees. There is a magnificent Buddhist temple vividly reminiscent of glorious Tibetan culture. His Holiness Dalai Lama and the Tibetans in exile also reside there.

Non Party Constructive Workers Convention

NEWS LETTER

Central Co-ordination Committee

The Central Co-ordination Committee of Non-Party, Non-Power Seeking Constructive workers Get-together met in Swarag Ashram at Dharamsala on the 11th, 12th and 13th June 1981 in the presence of Vimalaji and took the following decisions.

Shri S. D. Sharma's proposal to establish a National Missionaries Training Institute to train full time workers for the service of the country was discussed. It was, however, felt that instead of setting up a separate Institute at this stage which would naturally involve huge expenditure on Administration and over-head charges, a small beginning may be made by recruiting 5 national missionaries every year and giving them training for 1 year through existing well reputed institutions in the country and thereafter utilising their full time services on modest honorarium of Rs. 500 a month in the various rural Projects in various States. It was decided to adopt this scheme and necessary steps be taken to implement it.

Rural Development Information Centre

On the question of establishment of a Centre from Collection & Dissemination of Information regarding Rural Reconstruction work being undertaken in the country, the Committee took note of the fact that the existing Institutions such as "Gandhi Peace Foundation" and "AVARD" etc. were doing this work satisfactorily; in addition a

number of journals were publishing information on this subject. These sources were willing to supply information on projects and should be tapped for the present.

Rural Technology Institute

The establishment of Rural Technology Institute came up for discussion. The Committee was of the opinion that it would be prudent to take advantage of the assistance provided by the "Rural Technology Wing" started by the Jawaharlal Nehru University to all agencies engaged in promotion of Rural Technology.

The Committee also decided that the following programmes should be undertaken in the coming months :—

- (1) *Electoral Reforms* :— Shri Krishan Kant was requested to make a study in depth of the existing Electoral System in the light of its defects and after eliciting the views of reputed jurists intelligentsia and political parties, to submit a working paper for the Committee's consideration.
- (2) *Water Availability* : The proposal to sponsor programmes regarding easier availability of drinking water was agreed to by the Committee. After due consideration it was decided that this programme should first be launched in Himachal Pradesh to begin with. For this purpose a Committee was set up to make a preliminary survey and decide upon a suitable programme of action for the consideration of the Committee under the Convenorship of Shri Onkar Chand.

Next Meeting of C.C.C.

The next meeting of C.C.C. will be held in Bombay on the 29th and 30th September.

Gram Vikas Trust

Under the inspiring leadership of Ravishankar Maharaj, a humanist, and a social reformer of Gujarat Gram Vikas Trust, Ahmedabad has started programmes of development for rural uplift on Gandhian

Digitized by Arya Samaj Foundation Chennai and eGangotri
lines with emphasis on providing drinking water and setting up village industries at an estimated cost of Rs. one crore. Philanthropists are invited to lend a helping hand to this noble task. Donations of Rs. 30,000 for one bore-well, and Rs. 10,000 for one drinking water well are solicited. Matching grants will be made by the District Local Authority.

Rural Reconstruction Mandal Project

Vimal Satsang Parivar and local friends have undertaken a project in Taluka Viramgam of Ahmedabad district. This project covers five villages with a population of about 4000. The Group is headed by Swami Ramanand Tirath who has worked in the area for 25 years and is highly respected by the villagers. Shri Wadi Lal Lallubhai Mehta, an industrialist of Ahmedabad is giving valuable guidance in the execution of the Project.

The area is semi-desert and suffers from lack of adequate water, electricity and approach roads in all weathers. Agriculture depends on rain, and only one crop can be raised in a whole year, leaving the villagers idle for half the year.

The aim of the Project is to organise villagers into Nagrik Mandals, to create contacts between the people and the administrative agencies, to provide expert advice to the people, for better agriculture, in setting up cottage and small industries, to organise youth and women associations, to improve educational standard and connected activities for improving the social and economic life of the people.

The Group is making efforts in liaison with the concerned authorities for speedy completion of the re-inforcement of the existing bund on a small lake in the project area so that the bund is not washed away. The Group is also pursuing with authorities for expediting completion of certain projects taken up in the Sixth Five Year Plan.

Project Chatargadh

Rural reconstruction work on 2000 acres of desert land is now in progress at Chatargadh in Rajasthan. The project was envisaged during Lok Satsang Yatra of 1980 when Vimalajee on her visit to Chatargadh inspired Shri Sohan Lal Modi to take up this challenging

task, with her offer to work for a month in planning and guiding the project.

The project picked up momentum with a week long camp organised by Modijee., during Punjab-Haryana-Himachal Yatra. The guiding force provided by Vimalajee, blessings of Shri Radhakrishna Bajaj and Shri Gokulbhai Bhatt and the dedication of the workers attending the Camp resulted in setting up a number of institutions for rural reconstruction.

The good work done during the Camp further inspired Shri Modi and Shri Bhawar Lal Kothari to provide a building complex consisting of a hall with a seating capacity of 500, two cottages for organisers of Camps at the site, and six cone-shaped cottages for workers together with a kitchen and a dining hall. The construction of these buildings has been completed. As a part of the project dairy for 1000 milch cows has also been set up.

Another camp for training of workers was organised on the occasion of the inauguration of the building-complex; 50 workers attended the Camp. Puja Dada Dharamadhikari, Dr. Induben Tikekar and Dr. Banwari Lal Chowdhari enlightened the Trainees with their talks on social and religious subjects and aspects of village upliftment.

Vimal Satsang Parivar

In the six months from January to June 1981 this year, Vimal Satsang Parivar undertook programmes of social work and spiritual upliftment on extensive scale at various places in Gujarat, Himachal, Delhi, Punjab and Haryana.

During this period it met on no less than 170 occasions at 45 different locations in these States. The programmes covered a large number of meetings with diverse groups such as Constructive Workers, Sarvodya Mandals, Teachers, Medicos and Villagers and many others. Briefly stated, the objectives of these meetings were to emphasise the need for constructive and dedicated work, rural reconstruction, to resist anti-social elements, to spread education to re-establish human values, to emphasise the need of economic self-sufficiency, to improve the political and industrial climate in the country, to protect civil

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liberties to work for removal of corruption, police atrocities and atrocities against Harijans.

The Parivar also held talks with various sections of people of Assam in order to explore the possibility of arriving at a common meeting ground between the Government and the agitation leaders.

Satsang Sessions and International Meditation Gatherings concentrated on moral and spiritual upliftment through 'Sadhna' and 'the importance of spiritual approach in social work' by which social workers should become 'Jeevan Sadhaks'.

Cause of the Handicapped

1981 is the International Year of the Disabled Persons. The Key note of the United Nations proclamation calls for "full participation and equality" aimed at integration of 450 million disabled people into normal social, economic and political life.

The Lok Sevak Sangh of the Servants of People Society Delhi Branch constituted a forum "Cause of the Handicapped" in March 1981. The main objectives of the Forum are :

- (a) to function as information bureau for the handicapped;
- (b) to focus public attention on the plight of the handicapped in order to mobilise sympathy and understanding for their welfare;
- (c) to take up their grievances with the concerned authorities;
- (d) to obtain assistance for them from various social organisations.

Letters were addressed to editors of newspapers, asking the handicapped to advise the Forum of their problems. In response a large number of the handicapped addressed the Forum.

The Social Organisations engaged in the welfare of the handicapped were asked to supply information on their activities and the facilities available with them, so that the Forum could help the handicapped with useful information and guidance.

Based on the collected information, quite a number of cases of the handicapped have been brought to the notice of the concerned departments, with the Forum's suggestions as to the possible solution in those cases. Through letters to newspaper-editors, the handicapped are also being advised of the facilities that are available with different social organisations.

This is only the beginning and with active help of sympathisers of the handicapped, the Forum is confident of rendering greater help to the large mass of the disabled community.

Porbandar Peace Centre

A Workshop for Amber Spinning Wheels has been opened on behalf of Saurashtra Constructive Work Committee. The Committee has sanctioned 100 Amber Spinning Wheels out of which 50 are already utilised. Special training is being imparted to women. There was a month's training camp in which 25 women participated, and each was given a stipend during the training. Three women have become regular spinners and each one of them has now started earning Rs. 3 per day.

Shri Schelbhai Shukla personally visited the Peace Centre and the villages around in order to start Khadi Production Centres in the area. It has been decided to start 2 Centres immediately—in Bhada and in Mitrana. Two youths from these two villages have been sent to Rajkot for necessary training. The Block Development Officer has assured the Peace Centre of his full cooperation on behalf of the Small Farmers Development Scheme of the Gujarat Government. A Centre for Khadi Production was inaugurated at Katvana.

A study Circle has been started on the first floor of the Porbandar Khadi Store. The Study Circle meets every Sunday to study and discuss specific themes. The number of attendance is increasing steadily.

Shri D. Mataleya from Jamnagar and Kumari Sharda from Jodiya conducted prayer meetings and satsang in different wards of Porbandar for a week. Response was more than encouraging.

Shri L. Davada and Shri H. Patel of the Peace Centre attended the Meditation Camp in Mount Abu conducted by Vimalajee. The Camp was specially meant to explain the significance of Peace Work and the necessity of creating a spiritual foundation for social service.

Shri Amulakbhai Khemani spent the first week of June at the Peace Centre and organised the implementation of Khadi, Spinning and Production Centres. Shri N. Bhatt has been given the charge of inspecting the Production Centres.

The Executive Committee of the Porbandar Peace Centre met on 8th June to take stock of the work done in the last six months. Fifteen members attended the meeting besides dignitaries like Shri Amulakbhai Khemani, Shri Balkrishna Vaidya, Shri D. Mataleya. The Committee expressed its deep concern for anti-social activities that although the city feels much relief as citizens have become comparatively bold and fearless, they are getting organised to resist the activities of the anti-social elements, with or even without the help of the police. Vimalajee is scheduled to visit Porbandar and spend a week there. The purpose is to meet leading citizens of the city and the Taluka. There will be a five-day Self-education Camp.

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The AWAKENING

The true wealth of a Country lies in its men and women. If they're mean, unhappy and ill, the Country is poor.

—Richard Aldington

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue according to Couseience, above all liberties.

—John Milton

Lost wealth may be replaced by industry, lost knowledge by temperance or medicine but lost time is gone for ever.

—S. Smiles

Ill deeds are doubled with an evil word, the sting of a reproach is the truth of it.

—Shakespeare

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AWAKENING

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Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
Where knowledge is free;
Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow
domestic walls;
Where words come out from the depth of truth;
Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary
desert sand of dead habit;
Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought
and action—
Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

—Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941)

The Awakening

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Editorial

Monsoon is the life-blood of India. It comes in the deep summer months when mouths are parched and even many wells lose their waters, lands get dry and agricultural activity is very much slowed down. Industrial work is conducted at a low ebb because of the non-availability of water for production of electric power. In this condition of dismay the monsoon brings in a new festive atmosphere. There are songs and dances, boat racing and kite flying. A merry life is created. Thus there is a sudden change in the morale of the people. We can say without hesitation that the monsoon controls the economy of the country and definitely the agricultural economy of the country is dependent on the monsoon. But for this yearly God-sent gift, India would have been much poorer and economic development would have been much worse than we see all around us.

But we have also to look at the misery that the monsoon spreads every year. Even in the last one month, we have already had reports of the flooding of large areas by the uncontrolled flow of waters—villages being swept out and houses being shattered and even cities bearing the brunt of this yearly visitation. Imagine a pretty city like Jaipur, considered to be the heart of the desert areas being in great trouble by the monsoon and one of its important religious spots, called Galtaji, being very badly shaken. Thus floods have already played their havoc in various parts of the country from the east to the west and from the north to the south; and it will not be surprising if we continue to get such reports in the months to come. As a consequence, lakhs of our countrymen will be displaced and forced to beg for food. Their small plots of land will be badly covered with sand and diseases of various types will play their destructive role with great speed.

As usual, our Government has been on the job and very alert with providing relief and support to the needy. But today, I would like to take your mind to another aspect of the issue and that relates

to the fact that all the yearly efforts that we put in as relief in the shape of providing food or shelter is only a tinkering with the problem. Throwing food from the helicopter or the old Maharaja sitting in his star studded palace in a Durbar and giving alms are only a minor part of solving the problem. The main issue is whether the state in the last few hundreds of years has been working on this front and whether it ever took the role of a welfare organisation. Or the state only acted as the custodian of power, fighting for rights at the personal level and not thinking of the people as a part of a welfare drive in a larger way.

In India, unfortunately the state did not work for the welfare of the common man as a part of its functions. Its representatives were mainly devoted to fights between individuals or castes, manufacturing of swords and shields and not making of improved plough or conducting experiments in better agriculture. The state as an institution in India created thousands of palaces and forts in the country collected antique jewellery, but never tried to act as a welfare organisation in the larger sense. There appears to be no reason why the rulers and their forefathers did not think in terms of proper land alignments or proper irrigation techniques to save the villages from the problems that he has to face every year. It is unfortunate that the state as represented by the King or the Maharaja, Nawab or the British Collector was only a bestower of gifts to the people and the idea of a welfare organization did not grow.

I personally think that the welfare idea should have grown amongst the people themselves and they should have got awakened to their requirements so that we did not have a state in which there is a constant warfare for the capture of power and full attention is not given to the solution of yearly problems, which are not beyond control.

All the same, our hearts go out to the people in distress. Various administrations are doing their best to help the people, voluntary organisations are helping with food and clothes, but still the man continues to suffer. In the end, I wish that we should all rise to the occasion.

Y. R. Mehta

Truthful Means to Fight Violence

Vimala Thakar

Until June 1980 I had never even thought of coming to Porbandar, Vidyachandra Rughani kept writing and telling me of the very bad state of affairs in the city. The numerous murders committed and other forms of anti-social behaviour, he wrote and invited me to visit the city and help solve its problems. Before my visit there were impressions in the mind that Porbandar was filled with sophisticated gangsters and anti-social elements and one had to work to free the city of them. I decided first to study the situation first-hand and then to experiment to solve the problem in a non-violent way with the co-operation of friends, if any came forward. When I came in August last and stayed with Vidyachandra Rughani and met the people, I still had the impression that there were two main groups in conflict with each other, the Kharwas and the Mehers and that the political factions were behind them and thus the situation was made a bit more complicated.

The question was, what should we do? We decided to take out a *padyatra* of the city. Balubhai and Amulakbhai were ready to join and so were the Gujarat Servodaya workers and members of the Shanti Sena. The main thought then was that the atmosphere of crime and homicide should be removed. But after the five-day *padyatra* of the city we realised that the police, the government officials, leading members of society, members of the business community were all involved. So instead of just two communities being involved there was now the whole cross section of society involved. We realised that only if the public opinion consolidates and thereby creates a moral pressure on the public servants. Then can some change be brought about. What was needed was a spiritual foundation and there was necessity for uniting the people's force.

In December we had a *padyatra* of the Taluka to show the people how a sadhak acts and works. With humility and freedom from all ambitions for personal and political power and with a wish to change the political power structure, Shri Mathuradasji, Shri Navalji, Shri Balubhai Vaidya, Shri Amulak Khimani all stood up and offered their co-operation, which was for us an indiction of God's hand in assisting the work. From the Tuluka *padyatra*, we discovered that the corruption had not reached the villages. Their main problem was unemployment, and we can help them through setting up new Khadi centres. After December we decided to help in that respect.

Today the country suffers from the lack of faith in God and hence in moral values, but handful of us having faith decided to start on that basis. It was felt if two workers were found who would be ready to stay on in Porbandar and do the work, the work could move forward; they would be helped by visiting friends. Hirjibhai and Leladharbhai volunteered to stay in Porbandar for atleast one year. So we opened and started the work of the Porbandar Peace Centre, in January 1981. People have got to know of the work of the Peace Centre, and so slowly our bonafides have been established. The workers have not been maltreated in any way nor have they been subject to any threats of violence, which in itself is no small achievement. The citizens of Porbandar themselves have not yet taken up the initiative, so for the time being work will have to be done with the help of five to ten visiting friends. The movement of non-violence moves slowly but surely without any outward show. Putting our trust in God we walk ahead with purity of mind, heart and speech, laying emphasis on purity of means.

Now after six months we have to activise and unite the people by taking up causes which will bring the people together. Can we start the work on the basis that the purity of the religious and educational institutions should be maintained. It is necessary to work out such an action programme to unite the peoples' force and keep it together. It is very important to take up some such project. If we don't remove the cynicism, bitterness in the people will increase and the people will feel more dejected and depressed. The people now do not have any trust that any work can be achieved by honest means. We have to show the people that work can be done upholding moral values and you have to show the people concrete results they are no longer satis-

ified with mere words. This way they will regain faith in themselves and the purity of means.

Since last year the situation is more serious in the country for the Prime Minister has lost control over her ministers. She does not trust her ministers and calls upon their secretaries to obtain information. So the ministers too are isolated. How can anyone govern if one has no trust on one's own ministers? So the strength to rule of the centre and the state governments has been reduced. The main reason for that is the means being used these days to win elections. Under such circumstances it is urgently necessary that the people unite and use their united strength to solve the social problems.

The world knows so little of how much my so called greatness depends upon the incessant toil and drudgery of silent, denoted, able and pure workers, women as well as men.

—M. K. Gandhi

Human Rights and the Administration of Justice

V. M. Tarkunde

(Summary of Kumarappa-Reckless lecture delivered by Mr. Tarkunde under the auspices of Tata Institute of Social Sciences, Bombay)

Dr. Gore, Members of the Faculty and friends : I am indeed highly honoured on being invited to give this lecture in this prestigious institution.

The subject we have chosen for our lecture today — Human Rights — denotes the ideal of a human being to have a good human dignified existence. Now you might perhaps be aware that the concept of freedom itself has been under-going a change even from the philosophical point of view. There is at least one school of thought, to which I belong, where human freedom has been identified in its wider meaning as the struggle for existence. The difference between human beings and other is that human beings want to live not merely as animals but as human beings. That is why they want not merely to have food and shelter but to have some opportunities of growth or of realising their potential, intellectually and emotionally. They have higher potentialities and they must have the opportunity to realise those potentialities. In this way the struggle for freedom of the human being is really a continuation of the biological struggle for existence on a higher level. The concept which applies to everybody is that we fight for freedom, not for the freedom to starve but for the freedom to live as human beings. So that the idea that bread and freedom are inter-related — one cannot have one without the other — is quite a logically consistent and scientifically justifiable idea. It is an idea derived from the basic urge for existence. When we speak of human freedom or human rights, really we are having this wider concept

of the rise of human beings as human beings — and this is the wider concept of freedom, the right of human beings to have a dignified existence.

There are two broad aspects of human rights one of which is civil and political right. The other aspect is of economic and social life. The main civil rights are well-known and they include the right of freedom of existence, the right of freedom of association, the right of freedom of religion, freedom of conscience as it is sometimes called. Freedom being a basic value is limited only by freedom. And the very idea of social existence is that just as you and I are entitled to freedom, everybody else also is entitled to the same freedom. If you have rights, they also must have rights. And, therefore, the concept of equality is basic to the concept of freedom itself. Concept of equality means equal freedom for all and this requires that your freedom may be subjected to reasonable restrictions in the interests of the freedom of the other people who compose society.

Now as far as civil rights are concerned, I need not go into details. The economic and social rights are rights relating to the economic life of the individual—his right to employment, his right to some assurance of good life, some assurance with regard to various stages in life, including old age. Social insurance is involved in this concept of economic and social rights, i.e., the right to have a job or the right to have some assistance when you are not able to get a job and also the right to have help during old age, etc. These have assumed greater intensity in this century. Let us look at the Russian Revolution which had its impact. It was felt that the world was changing and changing fast. That was a natural reaction to the idea that all human beings must come up and must have a good life. They are entitled to as good a life as anybody else, that is a basic urge of human nature and that is why that the event was so electrified. I am referring to what happened in Russia and elsewhere with a view to bringing out the fact that after all the human rights which were thought to be realised and protected by the Russian revolution were protected only to a very limited extent. It's now over sixty years that the Russian state which was expected to wither away has in fact become more and more centralised.

When under capitalism people had to face unemployment over a large scale, the whole order had gone awry. Man was given a certain

status or certain position, and most people had the position of a vassal and in that position you are free to starve also. So when you are given the freedom of starvation you want some sort of psychological system, psychological support and that psychological support can be given to you if you merge yourself into an imagined higher power. We know Fascism consists of subordination inside and aggression abroad. You subordinate yourself to the strength of the nation or the race. That happened in Germany under Hitler. If you are a German, you must say you are small but Germany is great and you must see that Germany becomes greater and greater — the concept of my nation, my race. This idea of subordinating an individual to a collectivity arises from the impossibility of an individual to stand on his own legs psychologically to face the future, to be the maker of his own destiny; he wants some psychological support of certainty, may it be God or some other collectivity like the nation or race or the class.

What I want to stress is that freedom is not possible unless self-reliance is made the basis of the struggle for freedom. Self-reliance means mental freedom. You can be physically free, you can be politically free, you can be socially free, you can be economically free, only if you are intellectually free. I will co-operate with others, of course, but I will decide my future. I do not want my future to be made by somebody else like God or a leader. I would like to come back to this aspect later on. At this stage I am pointing out the background of the loss of freedom which was experienced throughout the world. It was just by the skin of the teeth that democracy was saved in the last War. Otherwise, if Hitler and Mussolini had succeeded, all of us would have been under the heels of some international fascism. Well, this is the second aspect. First, I spoke about the Russian Revolution, You may call the German experiment a counter-revolution, but some people thought that it was a revolution. They termed it national socialism. It was a brand of socialism and they called themselves revolutionaries.

Let us now look at what happened after the defeat of fascism in the Second World War. Most of the colonial countries became independent after the Second World War. A major portion of the world has now ceased to be colonies. They have become independent countries. Now what has been gained as a result of independence? Are they really democratic countries? Are they really free countries? Are they really advanced countries?

The position in fact is that we have got three worlds: the Western block—so-called developed countries, the Communist block, and the so-called developing countries, i.e., the Third World. We are a part of the Third World. You will find in the Third World by and large there is nothing but despotism. There is hardly any democracy except in small areas like Singapore and Malaysia. The one country where democracy exists to some extent, and which is also a large country, is India. It is my view that India has got the potential of either saving democracy or seeing democracy destroyed throughout the Third World. That is India's pivotal position in the Third World. And I think it is a matter of credit to us that the country of so many millions of people, of so many religions, of so many races, of such great inequality of income which one finds impossible to tolerate has succeeded in practising democracy, to a limited extent though. We shall however, have to see whether we are really able to maintain it. In my opinion, our civil rights, our human rights are very unstable. We are either destined to see that these civil rights are destroyed or that civil right are expanded. We must realise that if we are not able to get a good democratic government, which shall advance and expand our civil rights, it is we who are responsible for that situation.

We must analyse ourselves. As I said earlier, people cannot be free unless they want to be self-reliant. Self-reliance is the hallmark of freedom. Now, how many people in India are self-reliant? How many people want to say: "I will make my future, I will strive for my future". They want somebody else to look after them, to look after their future. They want some godman. I have known people who are highly educated, people who have been judges of the High Courts and the Supreme Court and people from other learned professions, having faith in godmen. You see, this is a tradition which has grown. This is a tradition of lack of rationalism, lack of self-reliance. Now, if you have *buhās* (sadhus) in religion, are you not likely to have *buhās* in politics? If you give your religious vote to a *buha*, you will give your political vote to any other type of *buha*.

With regard to civil rights and civil liberties, there are two ways of looking at the matter. There is one set of people—may be as keenly interested in the upliftment of the country as I am; who maintain that they must have the political power to eradicate poverty; they also maintain that people are interested only in food, clothing and shelter;

people do not care for freedom or expression of freedom or association. That is only meant for a very small group of people, so it is argued. They further maintain that civil liberties come in their way of implementing their economic programme. Therefore civil liberties must be curbed. This is the point of view of those who want change from above. They might be of the Fascist variety, they might be of an Autocratic variety, or of a Communist variety. The second and opposite point of view is the one which I am placing before you. That nobody can ever do any good to the people unless the people want to do good to themselves. In the last 33 year of India's independence, people have remained almost where they were because people have been encouraged to look upon others to help them. The only type of revolutionary activity or revolutionary movement must be revolution from below, revolution to be brought about by the people themselves. We want to create a condition, we want to create a state in which our rights will be promoted and protected. For achieving this we require freedom of expression, we require freedom of association and freedom of assembly. The importance of civil rights in my opinion is this : they are the means by which the people can eventually come to power and improve their lot.

Basic education stresses both things—physical or cultural, fitness and the ability to do things with the hands. You can take it from me that if your hands can do things, your mind will work more satisfactorily.

—Jawaharlal Nehru

Welcome Thrust for Poll Reform

Inder Jit

Things seem to be looking up for our young democracy. Mrs. Gandhi has initiated a welcome dialogue with the leaders of the opposition separately and held meetings with two leaders: Mr. Atal Behari Vajpayee, President of the Bharatiya Janata Party and Mr. Chandrajit Yadav, President of the Janwadi Party. At the same time, the historic Garhwal repoll order has yielded a promising fall-out. The opposition, desperate and badly divided, has got together at long last—even for the limited purposes of ensuring free and fair elections—thanks to the efforts of the Janata President, Mr. Chandra Shekhar. Happily, the opposition conclave was attended by all the parties including the CPM and the BJP, and noticed by Doordarshan for a change. The CPI alone stayed out on the specious plea that it could not associate itself with a communal party like the BJP. The meeting was meaningful and appointed a nine-man panel to draw up agreed proposals for electoral reforms by mid-August.

Mrs. Gandhi appears to have initiated the dialogue with the opposition leaders mainly to share her perception of the national and international scene—especially her view of the “threat” to India’s security. Much that was discussed was, however, in general terms and will have to be followed up later. Mr. Vajpayee, for instance, wanted to know precisely the reasons which prompted her to talk time and again of the threat to India from Pakistan and elsewhere. Mrs. Gandhi had no specific answer except to say that she had never said that the threat was “immediate”. Again, Mr. Vajpayee reportedly wanted to know the Prime Minister’s expectation of cooperation from the opposition—and modalities of such cooperation. Mrs. Gandhi merely said that they would have to meet another day to discuss the matter. Mrs. Gandhi conceded to both the leaders the need for poll reforms—and also agreed to bring forward certain measures.

The Prime Minister, I am told, agreed that two things could be done straightaway to prevent impersonation and rigging. Identity cards could be issued to voters and electronic voting machines installed. But Mrs. Gandhi added that identity cards could perhaps be introduced by stages, beginning with West Bengal, in view of the "heavy cost" involved. According to the Election Commission, the cost for the whole country will be about Rs. 40 crores. Curiously, however, Mrs. Gandhi expressed her inability to go along with the Opposition on two other counts. First, government funding for elections, as recommended by the Election Commission in its latest report. Second, inclusion of expenditure incurred by a political party in the candidate's account, as was the case prior to the amendments made by Mrs. Gandhi's regime in the Representation of People Act following the famous case in which the Supreme Court set aside in 1975 the election of a Congress (I) M.P., Mr. Amar Nath Chawla, on a petition by Mr. Kanwar Lal Gupta, a Jan Sangh Leader.

Curiously ? Yes. I have it on good authority that the Congress (I) leaders had given their full and eloquent support to these two reforms also while their party was out of office and the Janata was in power. In fact, in those days Mr. C. M. Stephen, who now wants the Election Commission's power curbed following its Garhwal repoll decision, used to call occasionally on the Commission to seek its protection and assurance of a fair deal. Leading Congress (I) members were then happy that the Election Commission was independent. They even pressed for the two reforms as they were, one, unsure of their own ability to raise funds while in the wilderness and, two feared that the 1975 amendment to the Representation of People Act would heavily load the dice against them as it had made the poll expense ceiling meaningless. Unfortunately, however, the Janata Government failed to carry out its own promises expeditiously. At one stage, the Chief Election Commissioner, Mr. S. L. Shakhder, even offered to attend a meeting of the Cabinet to explain his recommendations and help expedite reforms. But his offer was alas not accepted and a Cabinet Sub-Committee was set up which needlessly delayed matters.

All the four reforms should be put through. At the same time thought needs to be given to making the Election Commission more effective in exercising its independence. There is no gain-saying that Commission has been functioning independently as reflected in the

historic Garhwal repoll order. Again, Jammu and Kashmir was able to have a truly free and fair poll to the State Assembly in June 1978 mainly because of the independence enjoyed by the Chief Election Commissioner and the power given to him under the Constitution for the "superintendence, direction and control" of the elections.

In June 1978, Mr. Shakhder, who had taken up the assignment barely a fortnight earlier, visited Srinagar, Jammu and Ladakh and supervised the poll in the State at the request of the Governor, Mr. L. K. Jha, then heading the State administration under President's rule, and the Prime Minister, Mr. Morarji Desai. Mr. Shakhder reviewed the law and order situation following arrival in Srinagar and soon directed the authorities to undertake two steps to restore public confidence in the administration and ensure a free and fair poll. First, he asked for immediate release of some 900 political workers who were under preventive detention as there were no specific charges against them; most of them belonged to the National Conference. Second, he advised the induction of BSF and CRP units in the State and had them posted in sensitive areas, replacing local police.

All that happened in Garhwal would not have come to pass if only the Election Commission had its own independent secretariat and a set of officials whom it could depute as observers at least. In Bareilly from where Begum Ahmed was elected by 35,000 voters, some 14 booths or more are alleged to have been captured by the Congress(I) in the contonment area. The BJP, Mr. Vajpayee tells me, protested to the Secretary of the Election Commission, Mr. Ganesan, and appealed to him to withhold counting. But Mr. Ganesan was unable to get in touch with the Returning Officer and other functionaries in time on phone as "none was available".

Rural Development in Karnataka

R. G. Keswani

Under the banner of Gram Vikas, a programme of rural development has been taken up in Karnataka. The moving force behind the programme is Dr. NKA Iyer who has long and varied experience in forestry, management of tea estates, orchards and factories, and has now brought this rich experience with equal dedication to the task of rural development.

To begin with, Dr. Iyer has selected the villages of Mallappanhalli, Honsetthalli, Dulappali, Seegenahalli, Amblikal, Kunibonde and Bisanhalli, because of the backwardness of the inhabitants who are mostly harijans or belong to other backward sections of the society.

The initial thrust of the programme in the welfare of the young children, and for this purpose, Dr. Iyer has set up a 'Balvadi' or childrens home in each of the seven villages. Each 'Balvadi' consists of a hall and two attached rooms and kitchen, and is built over an acre of land, which in most cases has been donated by the village.

Each Balvadi looks after about one hundred children, between the ages of 2-1/2 and 5 years, from 9.30 in the morning to 4 in the evening. During the day they are given two meals and snacks twice a day. Dr. Iyer is of the firm belief that lack of adequate nutrition retards physical and mental growth of a child. The children are taught the importance of cleanliness and hygienic habits, and above all discipline. Group activities like story-telling and chorus singing, are made integral part of a child's learning in the Balvadi.

Each Balvadi has on its rolls two or three lady teachers who have the minimum qualifications of matriculation and have had some

training. In selecting them preference has been given to girls who come from middle class families as they are better equipped for the work expected of them. The devotion with which these teachers are doing their work is highly gratifying. Some of them come from high caste families, and from urban areas, but all of them are dedicated to their work : they look after the children, feed them and tend to them throughout the day.

This Child Welfare programme is now looking after about 700 children of the villages where Balvadis have been set up.

In the evening, the hall of the Balvadi comes to life as a community centre. The adults of the village get together there and discuss common problems and interests of the village. These serious sessions are at times interspersed with folk singing and dancing.

In some villages, Balvadi hall is also serving as welfare centre for women of the village. 'Mahila Mandal' meets there in the evening. Certain welfare schemes for setting up handicrafts that can be started with a small capital, have been drawn up.

The work of rural development taken up by Gram Vikas is primarily to place before the village community in a small way a precedent of how they can improve their life and the life of their children, so that they are inspired to do something for themselves; that something which will improve their life, a lot.

A beggar at thy door, pleading I stand :

Give me an alms, O God, Love from thy loving Hand.

—Tukaram

A Humble Gandhian

People remember with gratitude the remarkable work and selfless sacrifice of eminent leaders like Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad, Rajagopalachari, Chittaranjan Das and many others of that stature. The nation celebrates their birth days at State or national level as national events, grants holidays to school children, holds exhibitions and sports events in their honour and in many other ways keeps the memory of these front-page celebrities alive in the minds of the growing generations. But who sings of the dedicated doings of the thousands of Satyagrahis whose contribution to the cause of winning Swaraj was in no way inferior to that of the mightiest of the mighty, and who today spend their lives in silent oblivion. It would be an act of unpardonable ingratitude for the nation which is now reaping the fruit of their selflessness and sacrifice to forget these spotless humble souls.

An unassuming person, unmindful of name or fame, living in an obscure corner of Karnataka who consecrated his whole life from the earliest days for the service of the lowliest and the lost; a man with strong convictions of wrong and right, possessing a fund of common-sense resourcefulness, coupled with ready wit; religiously adhering to the Gandhian principles of truth and ahimsa; his life a saga of selflessness and simplicity. Even before the Mahatma carried a tirade against the canker of untouchability, he championed the cause of the underdogs in his village, who were a prey to all the inequalities and social disabilities to which the Harijans were subjected to.

This karma-yogi, a self taught person unknown to fame, who learned what he knew and did by means other than going to school or college is Tagadur Ramchandra Rao, (affectionately called 'Tagadur') born in 1898 in a God-forsaken village of Karnataka.

Inspired in youth by Gandhiji's call of satyagraha against the British for the winning of Swaraj, he established in 1921 a Swaraj

Mandir in his village built by villagers themselves. This institution became the centre for all activities and the education of the people in patriotism and self-reliance. What began as a humble spinning centre later developed into a Khadi production unit providing employment to thousands of the famished population inhabiting the dry region around. This Khadi centre attained repute as the focus of several national activities, social, economic, religious and educational. The popularity of Tagadur and his moral eminence among the people aroused the jealousy of a few local bosses, who secretly sensing the loss of their local prestige and power among the villagers, set fire to ashram huts during the absence of Tagadur. On return Tagadur shed tears at the havoc committed, and in the true Gandhian way offered dharana in front of the house of the person who was known to be the mischief maker, and finally succeeded in touching his heart : The result was that the ashram was rebuilt by the trouble-maker and the villagers.

Tagadur utilized a large part of his life in serving a local underprivileged backward community known as Kaniyars who, though not Harijans, were being exploited by the advancing communities, especially the landlords and money-lenders. These people were also denied entry into temples. Tagadur took up their cause and after non-violent agitation finally succeeded in restoring their right of entry into local shrines and other places of pilgrimage in the State.

Life and experience in jail became a matter of routine pleasure trip for Tagadur. He spent weeks and months in jail and was an inmate of it six times—for boycotting the Simon Commission, for wearing dress symbolizing the tri-colour flag, for participating in the fight for responsible government, for campaigning against India's participation in the global war and so on.

Harijan cause was very dear to Tagadur's heart. In the neighbouring village of Honnur about 200 Harijan families had been indebted to rapacious money lenders who exploited their innocence and ignorance by charging enormous rates of interest on the loans advanced and later on squeezing them for the repayment of the debts. Fanned by hunger, penury and helplessness the Harijans encountered untold suffering. To add to this vulnerable situation was the well-timed entry of the local Christian missionaries who promised to redeem the people of their debts if only they were prepared to embrace the

Christian faith. Tagadur entered into the fray but found the problem to be a delicate one to handle. Any attempt to take sides even if there is justice on one side bids fair to escalate the trouble. The problem could be attacked only on the moral plane, on the Gandhian ahimsa plane. Tagadur met the money lenders, coolly discussed the economic and social implications of their action, appealed to the traditional ideals of compassion and finally convinced them to accept long span of 25 years for repayment of the debts.

When we survey the social and political scene today and find a few of the so-called freedom fighters campaigning and vying with each other for getting political pensions and for adorning their homes with tamrapatras, we feel that there is something wrong with their philosophy of life and the values they cherish. Tagadur had the courage of conscience to refuse both the gifts. It is Gandhi's truth that the dignity of man is not something conferred, allowed or recognized by others, but something disclosed by each human being for himself by himself.

We have not the least doubt that there must be hundreds, if not thousands, of such men and women of ethos in our country leading simple, humble lives unheeded, unsung and unrecognized.

Courtesy : Gandhi Vigyan

The Freedom to Starve

Puregarha is an insignificant village in the Palamau district of Bihar; Garhwa, the nearest town, is 60 kilometres away. Flanked by hills on all sides, and surrounded by forests, the village has a sterile look. The last 20 kilometers to the village are best covered by foot or on cycle.

Ram Briksh Korwa, a villager from Puregarha, had borrowed Rs. 150 from Mangru Mahto of Ranpura village about 20 years ago. He has been working ever since to pay off that debt. Every years work however, pays the interest on the debt. The principal remains untouched Ram Briksh is a bonded labourer.

He works from dawn to dusk, "I don't get any leave, not even on feast days", he said. "If I am sick then I have to send a substitute. Or he tells me to work slowly, but work". He said he had never been paid any money for his work. He is given lukma (a light morning meal) and one kilogram of grain (paddy, maize or millet but not rice) at the end of the day.

Ram Briksh is about 40 years old. He has no land of his own. His wife also works for the same man, and is paid one kilogram of grain each day. She however is not bonded.

Another labourer, Amrit Korwa, about 30 years old, borrowed Rs. 250 from Chatardhari Mahto of his own village. Twelve years have passed and he is trying in vain to pay off that debt. Regardless of the work he puts in year after year, the debt will remain till Rs. 250 is paid back in cash.

He too gets his lukma in the morning and one kilogram of grain in the evening. He has a family of 11. He owns land but has no animals

for ploughing it. Maize and millet grown on the land last for about two months.

This is bonded labour as it exists in Palamau. According to this system, called Saunkya, if a man takes a loan from another, he has to go on working for him till he has paid back the amount. The amount borrowed is unimportant when it comes to the rigours of bondage. Lalchu Korwa of Kudrum village had borrowed Rs. 25. But he worked for 10 years till he was freed by the government in 1977. Another man in Daho village worked for 35 years to repay a paltry loan of food. His son had also worked for about four years to repay the same debt till he was freed.

No Cash Payment

The interest rate is excessively high and the bonded labourer has no way of checking exactly how much he owes the money lender. The labourer neither receives any cash payments for his work nor is he able to reduce, through working, the amount he owes. Since the family cannot subsist on what he is given the other members too are forced to work for the same man or seek work elsewhere for a ridiculous wage of one kilogram of grain per day.

The necessities of life are impossible to satisfy. "We don't burn lamps in our house", said one man, "because we don't have any money to buy oil". They make do with burning twigs and groping in the dark. Another man said, "I can't recall the day I've had a full stomach."

The only respite the bonded labourer gets is when the money lender has no work for him. Then he is free to work on contract labour and he will be paid Rs. 4.50 per day.

The Saunkya system was a way of life in Palamau till it was challenged in the early 70s and brought to the notice of the government by Bishop George Saupin of Daltonganj. The results of the detailed survey conducted by his social workers were forwarded to the government. But it was not until 1975 that the Central Government seriously decided to tackle the problem of bonded labour. In that year the Bonded Labour System (Abolition) Ordinance was signed by

the President of India. In the following year it was made an Act. All arrangements involving bonded labour were declared null and void and all labourers declared free. Punishment for keeping bonded labourers was to be "imprisonment for a term extending upto two years and also with a fine which may extend to Rs. 2000". Out of this fine, payment was to be made to the bonded labourer "at the rate of Rs. 5 for each day for which bonded labour was extracted from him".

Labourers were free in Palamau in 1975.

Little Follow Up

After the initial enthusiasm there has been little sustained follow up action. Rehabilitation measures are conducted by the state welfare or revenue departments. To date they have been unsatisfactory and ineffective Bhuneshwar Korwa of Kudrum village worked for a Satyanarayan Sahu from 1973 to 1977 because he had borrowed Rs. 12 from him. He was freed, given one bullock, one goat, two small hoes, some seeds and then left to fend for himself. That was his rehabilitation. Of all the freed men that we interviewed, not one said he had received the compensation he was entitled to.

Of the 190 freed labourers in the Ronka Block 54 of them are landless. Only one of them received aid from the government. But the landless have nowhere to cultivate even if they are given a bullock each. Many others have sold the bullock they were given. For those who own land, there is no escape from starvation till the crops are ready for harvesting and labour is required. That is why the first year after being freed is so critical for bonded labourers.

When rehabilitation is inadequate, the condition of the freed labourers is worse than before. There is the freedom to starve and the little security they had, though in bondage, is taken away. They have no regular work nor will anyone give them loans any longer. Apart from the fear of reprisals, this must be the main reason why they are afraid of speaking to anyone about their slavery.

These people have much to lose if their bid for freedom does not succeed. They do not hope to get any compensation for the years that

they had worked in bondage, although there is provision for it in the Bonded Labour System (Abolition Act). For the bonded labourers have neither the money nor the will to fight cases that will drag on for years in courts that are far away. They are not even able to pay for their journey to the court. Worse still, they have frequently deposed against themselves in court.

Declaring bonded labourers free, does not liberate them. Well-planned follow up action must be taken. Otherwise those declared free soon relapse into bondage or face starvation.

Wanted Back Issues of "The Awakening"

The following back issues are not available in our records. Readers are requested to kindly send these copies to us so that we can complete our records.

1979 : August, September, October, November & December.

1980 : January, February, March and October.

Insight into Present Tibet

Kaiser Jhaveri

(Vimalaji had two meetings with the Tibetan leaders at Dharamsala recently. A delegation consisting of elder brother and sister of His Holiness the Dalai Lama visited Tibet sometime back. Produced here are some of the questions/answers for interest of our readers.)

Vimalaji : I have been feeling concern for the last few months due to reports in many Indian newspapers that His Holiness the Dalai Lama has been invited by the Chinese Government to go back and live in Tibet. The Chinese Government, the reports say, is willing to convert Tibet into an autonomous region provided His Holiness goes back and settles there. The newspaper report give an impression that His Holiness is inclined towards accepting the invitation. Is it true ?

Reply : It is true that the Government of China has invited His Holiness to Tibet and His Holiness has always concern for the happiness of his people. He neither committed for going back to Tibet nor did he reject the invitation. He kept it open. The newspaper reports have truth when they say His Holiness is inclined. In fact, we were more anxious to find out if the people of Tibet want His Holiness to go back there ?

Vimalaji ; Was the delegation sent by His Holiness an indication of his willingness to go back or was it a piece of strategy to find out the present psychological condition of the people in Tibet ?

Reply : No, it was not an indication of his willingness to go back, but shows love for his people. If his going back would make the people of Tibet happy, then he would certainly consider the whole matter seriously. So the delegation was sent to find out the exact

conditions of the people as well as their psychological approach to the whole question. One would not call it a piece of strategy, but it is necessary that we should know the exact conditions of the people and also their psychological attitude towards the problem. You know that three delegations have been sent and they visited three different parts of Tibet. The people were not allowed to meet them freely. They could look at the delegates and the delegates could look at them and assuage their sorrow of separation from His Holiness the Dalai Lama. The tortures, physical and mental that they had gone through, were writ large on the faces of the people who came to receive them in large numbers in spite of all the restrictions put by the Chinese Government on them.

Vimalaji : Does the younger generation in their twenties who perhaps have never seen His Holiness want him back in Tibet ? And at the same time, do they have faith in Buddhism ? How far have they been indoctrinated by the Chinese Government in communist philosophy ? Is it true that there is an underground armed resistance growing in Tibet ?

Reply : The first query is a very interesting one. The young people may not have seen but they have heard about His Holiness and his concern for the happiness of the Tibetan people. Though they may have communist leanings and may have not studied Buddhism as they did not have the chance to study the Buddhist philosophy. But His Holiness for them is a symbol of the dignity and glory of the Tibetan people and the Country; so they do want him back. As regards second part of your question, they have, of course, been indoctrinated by the Chinese Government with the philosophy of communism. They are communists but they are nationalists first and communists afterwards.

They have started underground guerilla movement. Undoubtedly they do not believe in non-violence. They are out for an armed revolt and in spite of all the pressures and tortures from the Chinese Government, the armed guerilla movement is catching momentum, especially in the last two years. The Chinese Government is really worried about this whole phenomenon. It has not been possible for them to crush the movement of the young people. Thus, you see that even these communist youths are very eager to have His Holiness the Dalai

Lama back. But they feel the time is not yet ripe for it. They are also afraid that the Chinese Government might not guarantee the physical security of His Holiness.

Vimalaji : Where is Panchen Lama and what is he doing ?

Reply : Panchen Lama was in prison for 13 long years. We met him at Beijing. Although, he has been set free now, but he is still, a sort of, under house-arrest. He had to pay quite a heavy price for being loyal to His Holiness the Dalai Lama. So the Tibetan people in general and the younger generation in particular are very much apprehensive whether the Chinese Government would allow His Holiness the Dalai Lama to live in freedom once he is back in Tibet.

Vimalaji : What has made the Chinese Government invite His Holiness back and even allow the delegation to move freely into Tibet ?

Reply : It is quite an interesting question. As already told that there is a big political turmoil going on in China. There are so many inner conflicts, tensions and race for political leadership in the present Chinese Government. The Chinese Government did it just to divert the attention of the people. Secondly the Tibetan issue has caused a great loss of face to the Chinese Government. The conscience of the world was shocked by the attack of China on Tibet and the devastation they caused which is no more a secret. China is now eager to win back its moral prestige only in Asia but also in Europe and America. Thirdly the underground guerilla movement of the Tibetan youth has caused great anxiety to the Chinese Government. If they can get His Holiness back into Tibet (His Holiness the Dalai Lama represents non-violence) they have hopes that His Holiness would control the younger generation and that the armed revolt could be silenced.

Vimalaji : Has the economic life of the Tibetan people changed under the communist rule ? Are they better fed, clothed and sheltered ?

Reply : The economic life of the Tibetan people has not much changed in the last 20 years.

Vimalaji : Has Tibet been industrialised in the last two decades ?

Reply : Yes, industries have sprung up but you will be as sad as I am when I tell you that all the industrial products are rushed to

China. Even the products of the agricultural farms are rushed to that country.

Vimalaji: Has there been any major improvement in the road construction, means of transportation and communication?

Reply: Yes, there has been. Many roads have been laid but they are for defence strategy and not for the benefit of the Tibetans. They have amassed arms, ammunition, artillery on Indo-Tibetan border with dual purpose in mind. One to demoralise the Tibetans and second purpose is to warn the Tibetan people not to look to India for any military help.

Screening of a film

It was depicted through a film shot by the delegation, that the huge monasteries and buildings were raised to dust in Tibet. One could see the poor conditions in which the Lamas worked in different factories. Everyone has to work there. The Lamas also have to wear the livery of a labourer. One could see in village-folk working hard in the fields. One could see in the film the poor conditions of the schools. Children were nearly wearing rags and malnutrition was quite visible on their faces. They looked very emaciated and had small bowls in their hands. We were shown people having lunch in a factory and we were shocked they had only wooden bowls, God knows what was in those bowls, a kind of porridge or something and that was all for lunch.

I have not studied the life of the Tibetan people prior to the Chinese invasion, but I have a memory of what I heard from reliable sources that Tibetan people were very very poor even under His Holiness the Dalai Lama. Of course, the Lamas, thousands and thousands of them living in monasteries and carrying on educational activities were better off. There was sort of class distinction of poor starving people and the rich monasteries even then. One had hoped that under the communist rule for the last 20 years the economic conditions would have changed for the better; but, I for one, have been disappointed. If the starvation and poverty of the Tibetan people had been removed by the Chinese that could have given them atleast justification for the aggression. But that also was not there. There is poverty. There is starvation. People are not better fed, not better clothed nor I would say they are better sheltered.

We saw in the film, field after field, village after village how they catch fish out of a lake and rush these to China because they fetched foreign currency. Similarly, the industrial products are also rushed to China. So it is the same old story—the British setting up industries in India and taking in the raw material, processing the things. The old story of exploitation through religion, through economic ideologies, through political ambition goes on. The story is the same whether it is India, in Middle East or even perhaps in East European countries.

Vimalaji was told and saw in the film also how people thronged in thousands just to look at their brothers who had gone there from India after 20 long years. We could see them crying and weeping in multitudes although the Chinese Government had warned; "Nobody should cry, nobody should weep. There should not be emotional demonstration". The delegation should not be accorded an extraordinary welcome. I could see that the people had broken the police cordon at half a dozen places and rushed towards the members of the delegation just to touch the fringes of their robes. They were overwhelmed as if the members of the delegation carried a ray of hope for their freedom.

This is my prayer to thee my Lord—

strike, strike at the root of penury in my heart;
 Give me the strength lightly to bear my joys and sorrows.
 Give me the strength to make my love fruitful in service.
 Give me the strength never to disown the poor,
 or bend my knees before insolent might.
 Give me the strength to raise my mind high above daily trifles; and
 Give me the strength to surrender my strength to thy
 Will with love.

—Rabindranath Tagore

No Comments

We have a Govt. that works. Here are some figures of inflation that tell us about our economy :

Year	Index No. of Wholesale Prices	D. A. Index
1970/71	100	826
1971/72	105.6	866
1972/73	116.2	963
1973/74	139.7	1150
1974/75	174.9	1345
1975/76	173.0	1292
1976/77	176.0	1372
1977/78	185.8	1421
1978/79	185.8	1470
1979/80	216.8	1692
1980/81	256.1	1931

—*Illustrated Weekly*

The Puri Committee on gold auctions during the Janata regime has submitted a secret annexure to its 165 pages report stating that black money has been pumped into the purchase of 13 tonnes of gold sold at Rs. 86.5 crores to 8,577 bidders in 14 auctions. The secret report says that a syndicate of businessmen had funded the deals. Of the total sum, Rs. 35.2 crores was debited to the bidders account : Rs. 37.8 crores to the third party accounts and the rest was paid in cash. And that is the chunk of black money that the Committee wants to be probed.

—*Onlooker*

Non Party Constructive Workers Convention

NEWS LETTER

CAMPAIGN FOR CLEAN POLITICS

Lok Sevak Sangh (a non-party, non-power seeking organisation of Voluntary workers) in a meeting held recently in Lajpat Bhawan, New Delhi in which the representatives of the following like-minded voluntary bodies also participated with a view to cleanse the Country from the corrupt-dirty politics as a common citizen is feeling choked and helpless in the prevailing atmosphere :

1. Hindustani Andolan
2. Voters' Council
3. Citizens for Democracy.

Briefly the following demands were formulated at the outset in this connection.

1. Anti-defection Bill be passed.
2. Lok-pals be appointed.
3. All political parties be required by law to maintain accounts and get these audited by the Comptroller and Auditor General of India.
4. All Ministers, M.Ps., M.L.As/M.L.Cs be required by law to declare their assets and those of their family members from year to year.
5. Money power be curbed by legislation so far as to prevent rigging of elections.

To muster opinion and to build-up a strong opinion of the people in favour of the clean politics, the above-mentioned four voluntary organizations have joined hands and have decided to work for it unitedly and to co-operate with each other. It had also been decided in the meeting that volunteers be enrolled to participate in any truthful and non-violent action-oriented programme for achieving these objectives. Those persons who believe in the ideology of 'clean politics' and have a desire to raise the Country from its present morass through the efforts of non-party, non-power seeking voluntary organisations can fill in the Declaration (given below) and enroll themselves as volunteers. They should send the form hand-written or typed if desired to Lajpat Bhawan, Lajpat Nagar, New Delhi-110024.

DECLARATION

Citizens Campaign for Clean Politics

I volunteer to join the Citizens Campaign for Clean Politics.

I declare that I am not a member of any political party and that I shall not seek or accept any political position or power.

I support the demands given over-leaf and volunteer to participate in any truthful and non-violent action-oriented programme for achieving these objectives.

Signature

Name (in block letters)

Address

Dated :

Tel. No.

Forwarded to :

Lajpat Bhawan,
Lajpat Nagar,
New Delhi-110024

Majumdar Memorial Charitable Clinic and Welfare Centre, Hasanpur

During the month of June 1981, the Clinic treated about 700 patients on 26 days of its working. The Doctor in-charge of the Clinic also made 13 calls to the patients' houses.

The Hasanpur Clinic is a new project and like any new venture in the field of voluntary work, is faced with teething troubles. But, the lack of adequate facilities is more than made up by the dedication and spirit of service of the Medical Officer in-charge and the other members of the staff of the Clinic, who have set themselves to the task of providing maximum medical care to the residents of the village within the limitations of the newly set up Clinic.

Declaration of Lok Swaraj

The following message of the Swaraj was carried by Sarvodaya Mandal to 52,000 people in 105 villages of U.P. :—

We don't want the rule of leaders;
We don't want the rule of parties;
We don't want the rule of goondas;
We don't want the rule of Bureaucracy;
We want our own rule, Gram Swaraj and Lok Swaraj.

To make the programme a success at least two people from each village have promised to do whole-time work.

Purushottam Das Tandon Library

As in the previous year, the Purushottam Das Tandon Library continued to serve the public of South Delhi with better and increased facilities. The following gives a glimpse of the working of the Library.

The Library which started with a nucleus of 3360 books in 1960 was stocked with more than 43000 books on 31.3.81; 1075 new books were purchased during the year and another 1601 were received by donation. The library had a membership of 1399; in addition children wing had a membership of 119 on 31.3.81.

The Reading Room forms an important and integral part of the Library. During the year 26 periodicals were purchased and another 127 were being donated for Ved Bhawan and Children's Library also a number of periodicals were being purchased.

During the year over 56000 persons availed of the facility of the Library and the reading room.

Rural Development Project — Hemkhali Trust

The Durlabhji Trust has been running a modern, fully-equipped, 200-bed hospital in Jaipur for the last ten years.

The Project

The Hemkhali Trust in order to promote integrated rural development, the project is to be based at Cheetwari, a village approximately 30 miles from Jaipur. Cheetwari is to be used as a centre for operations that envisages the development of numerous villages around Cheetwari. Specifically the plan entails work initially in the areas of education, health, nutrition, agriculture, allied fields—irrigation, animal husbandry, and rural industry.

Professionals—doctors, agro-economists, geologists, engineers, designers, teachers, sociologists on request to work together as a team as paid professionals working together can accomplish the objectives the Trust have in mind. Can you suggest any person or persons who would be interested in working on the project? More details regarding the project can be obtained by interested individuals/institutions from YOGENDRA JAIN, Hemkhali Trust, 139, Johari Bazar, Jaipur-302 003 (Rajasthan).

— O. D. SHARMA

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AWAKENING

Many men have been capable of doing a wise thing; more, a cunning thing; but very few a generous thing.

—A. Pope

Let every hand give comfort to all living beings and let it be the giver of health to the whole mankind.

—Rig Veda

There is not a single virtue which aims at, or is content with, the welfare of the individual alone. Conversely, there is not a single moral offence which does not, directly or indirectly, affect many others besides the actual offender. Hence, whether an individual is good or bad is not merely his own concern, but really the concern of the whole community, may, of the whole world.

—Mahatma Gandhi

AWAKENING

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LET MY COUNTRY AWAKE

Where the mind is without fear and the head is held high;
 Where knowledge is free;
 Where the world has not been broken up into fragments by narrow
 domestic walls;
 Where words come out from the depth of truth;
 Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
 Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way into the dreary
 desert sand of dead habit;
 Where the mind is led forward by Thee into ever-widening thought
 and action—
 Into that heaven of freedom, my Father, let my country awake.

—Rabindranath Tagore (1861—1941)

The Awakening

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I am in earnest, I will not equivocate, I will not excuse; I will not retreat an inch—
and I will be heard.

—William Lloyd Garrison

Letter from the Editor

New Delhi
December 17, 1981

Dear Reader,

The Citizens Action Committee for Clean Politics (constituted by Delhi units of the five non-party organisations of constructive workers namely, Lok Sevak Sangh, Hindustani Andolan, Voters Council, Citizens for Democracy and People's Union for Civil Liberties) have addressed an appeal to eminent Indians, distinguished in their respective field of endeavour and not belonging to any political party, for lending their moral support to the campaign against political corruption in high places. Let me share with you brief excerpts from some of the replies received in response to this appeal.

General K.M. Cariappa (retd.) writes as follows in his letter dated 23th November '81—

"I thank you for your letter of 31st October 1981 with its enclosure which I received after my return from Australia a few days ago. I have read your enclosure with much interest on the subject of Citizens Campaign for Clean Politics. I fully agree with everything you have said in this very well got up circular. I do hope all the people concerned in this matter will take to heart all that has been said in your excellent circular and will help to save democracy in our beloved country, 100 per cent completely in all respects."

Shri N.A. Palkhivala writes in his letter dated 25th November '81—

"Many thanks for sending me the papers regarding Citizens Action Committee for Clean Politics. You and your

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colleagues have undertaken a noble cause and I wish you all
success in your laudable endeavours."

Shri R. R. Diwakar, while supporting the campaign, makes some valuable suggestions and his letter is reproduced in full elsewhere in this issue.

II

I also reproduce below very briefly what three other distinguished Indians have stated recently on the question of political corruption in our country.

Mr. Justice H. R. Khanna, retired Judge of the Supreme Court, addressing the annual function of the Bharat Vikas Parishad stated on Dec. 12, 1981—

"Many political bosses have a vested interest in the continuation of black money because they themselves are the recipients and beneficiaries of such money. Black money had permeated all spheres of life and activity. Unless there was an effective control and check on politicians in power, who were engaged in collecting black money under cover of party funds, the evil cannot be eradicated.

Political corruption started under the garb of collecting money for the party and election funds. This provided a masquerade and a facade for politicians in seats of power to extract money and thus amass huge amounts. One act of political corruption gave rise to scores of acts of administrative corruption. Ministers must be above suspicion.

Once the political bosses become beneficiaries of black money, shrewd calculating business men would take advantage of the situation and make money. Nothing invited greater scepticism for the professed desire to end corruption than the sight of petty officials being prosecuted for receipt of paltry sums while those involved in corruption of lakhs and tens of lakhs enjoyed the fruits thereof with impunity because of their political status.

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The subject of corruption had somehow become taboo in the corridors of power. During the last 15 years there had been talk of appointment of Lok Pal but now nothing was heard of it."

Shri S. M. Joshi, veteran freedom fighter and socialist leader stated on Dec. 4, 1981, while delivering the first J. P. Memorial lecture at the Jawaharlal Nehru University—

"If we do not get rid of corruption the country would never progress. Because of the endemic corruption in the country parliamentary democracy itself was on trial. The tendency to explain corruption as a global phenomenon is very dangerous. It was a game only the rich could afford to play. In India it meant crushing the lives of the majority of the people.

The entire establishment in India, including the educated elite was corrupt. The politician, the criminal and the police were in league with the corrupt.

The ramifications of corruption had increased after J.P's death. Men like me are either considered fools or anti-socials. And unfortunately we have, today, no leader like J.P.

Though fighting corruption was a very difficult task it was not an impossible task as the large majority of the people were still honest. Corruption had to be fought on three fronts—through work among the people, through education and politics. For this a well-organised and trained group was to be formed."

Dr. Rajni Kothari in his article "Where are we heading" published in the Indian Express Magazine dated 29th November '81 states :

"Slowly and imperceptibly we are moving towards a new political dispensation, backed up by a new political ideology, which if not countered decisively and through the united intervention of all those who care for the country, will put an end not only to Indian democracy but possibly to the

Indian Dispute as well as Corruption Chowli and Kangoli spheres—administration, politics, education, what have you. It marks all levels—low as well as high. And its scale is now truly astronomical.

The significance of the Antulay affair, for instance, lies not just in its sweep and its size, but in the institutionlisation through the machinery of public trusts that are privately and personally controlled, and in the blatant and shameless defence of it : yes I take this money, I publicly do it, I do not see anything wrong in it, and I will continue to do so.

The fact that the Prime Minister (in replying to a no confidence motion based mainly on the Antulay affair) said that her government “stood for the highest standards of public life” and has not found it necessary to fire him, means that she accepts Mr. Antulay’s defence of his actions. And Mr. Antulay is not alone in believing this. He only happens to be the more publicised among a large bunch of Congress (I) politicians. Obviously, all the others indulging in this and other modes of collection of money fulfil the same highest standards, at any rate the standards Mrs. Gandhi approves. Equally obviously, her own behaviour must be guided by the same standards.”

III

Shri Gulzarilal Nanda has written to us—

“I have received your circular dated 28th September and have signed the Declaration. It is good as far as it goes. May I however state in all humility that in the absence of efforts to create powerful sanctions, very little will be gained by gestures of this kind.”

It is precisely for mobilising public opinion for forging necessary sanctions that the Citizens Committee have launched their campaign and also propose to launch a silent Satyagraha, after exhausting all constitutional means, in order to appeal to the conscience of our political leaders and parties to return to the path of moral rectitude.

Therefore, dear reader, if you feel like supporting our crusade against corruption in high places and are also prepared to suffer in the process, motivated only by a sense of duty or the love for fellow-countrymen, please do write to us.

Wishing you a happy new year,

Yours truthfully,

S. D. Sharma

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Universal Declaration of Human Rights

On December 10, 1948, the General Assembly of the United Nations adopted and proclaimed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the full text of which appears below. India is also a signatory to the two consequential and important covenants viz—'The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights' and 'The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights'. —Ed.

Preamble

Whereas recognition of the inherent dignity and of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice and peace in the world,

Whereas disregard and contempt for human rights have resulted in barbarous acts which have outraged the conscience of mankind, and the advent of a world in which human beings shall enjoy freedom of speech and belief and freedom from fear and want has been proclaimed as the highest aspiration of the common people,

Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law,

Whereas it is essential to promote the development of friendly relations between nations,

Whereas the peoples of the United Nations have in the Charter reaffirmed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women and have determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

Whereas Member States have pledged themselves to achieve, in co-operation with the United Nations, the promotion of universal respect for and observance of human rights and fundamental freedoms,

Whereas a common understanding of these rights and freedoms is of the greatest importance for the full realization of this pledge,

Now, therefore, the General Assembly proclaims

This Universal Declaration of Human Rights as a common standard of achievements for all peoples and all nations, to the end that every individual and every organ of society, keeping this Declaration constantly in mind, shall strive by teaching and education to promote respect for these rights and freedoms and by progressive measures, national and international, to secure their universal and effective recognition and observance, both among the peoples of Member States themselves and among the peoples of territories under their jurisdiction.

Article 1. All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood.

Article 2. Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status.

Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty.

Article 3. Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person.

Article 4. No one shall be held in slavery or servitude; slavery and the slave trade shall be prohibited in all their forms.

Article 5. No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman or degrading treatment or punishment.

Article 6. Everyone has the right to recognition everywhere as a person before the law.

Article 7. All are equal before the law and are entitled without any discrimination to equal protection of the law. All are entitled to equal protection against any discrimination in violation of the Declaration and against any incitement to such discrimination.

Article 8. Everyone has the right to an effective remedy by the competent national tribunals for acts violating the fundamental rights granted him by the constitution or by law.

Article 9. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary arrest, detention or exile.

Article 10. Everyone is entitled in full equality to a fair and public hearing by an independent and impartial tribunal, in the determination of his rights and obligations and of any criminal charge against him.

Article 11. (1) Everyone charged with a penal offence has the right to be presumed innocent until proved guilty according to law in a public trial at which he has had all the guarantees necessary for his defence.

(2) No one shall be held guilty of any penal offence on account of any act or omission which did not constitute a penal offence, under national or international law, at the time when it was committed. Nor shall a heavier penalty be imposed than the one that was applicable at the time the penal offence was committed.

Article 12. No one shall be subjected to arbitrary interference with his privacy, family, home or correspondence, nor to attacks upon his honour and reputation. Everyone has the right to the protection of the law against such interference or attacks.

Article 13. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of movement and residence within the borders of each state.

(2) Everyone has the right to leave any country, including his own, and to return to his country.

Article 14. (1) Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution.

(2) The right may not be invoked in the case of prosecutions genuinely arising from non-political crimes or from acts contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 15. (1) Everyone has the right to a nationality.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his nationality nor denied the right to change his nationality.

Article 16. (1) Men and women of full age, without any limitation due to race, nationality or religion, have the right to marry and to found a family. They are entitled to equal rights as to marriage, during marriage and at its dissolution.

(2) Marriage shall be entered into only with the free and full consent of the intending spouses.

(3) The family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society and is entitled to protection by society and the State.

Article 17. (1) Everyone has the right to own property alone as well as in association with others.

(2) No one shall be arbitrarily deprived of his property.

Article 18. Everyone has the right to freedom of thought, conscience and religion; this right includes freedom to change his religion or belief, and freedom, either alone or in community with others and in public or private, to manifest his religion or belief in teaching, practice, worship and observance.

Article 19. Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers.

Article 20. (1) Everyone has the right to freedom of peaceful assembly and association.

(2) No one may be compelled to belong to an association.

Article 21. (1) Everyone has the right to take part in the government of his country, directly or through freely chosen representatives.

(2) Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country.

(3) The will of the people shall be the basis of the authority of government; this will shall be expressed in periodic and genuine elections which shall be by universal and equal suffrage and shall be held by secret vote or by equivalent free voting procedures.

Article 22. Everyone, as a member of society, has the right to social security and is entitled to realization, through national effort and international co-operation and in accordance with the organization and resources of each State, of the economic, social and cultural rights indispensable for his dignity and the free development of his personality.

Article 23. (1) Everyone has the right to work, to free choice of employment, to just and favourable conditions of work and to protection against unemployment.

(2) Everyone, without any discrimination, has the right to equal pay for equal work.

(3) Everyone who works has the right to just and favourable remuneration ensuring for himself and his family an existence worthy of human dignity, and supplemented, if necessary, by other means of social protection.

(4) Everyone has the right to form and to join trade unions for the protection of his interests.

Article 24. Everyone has the right to rest and leisure, including reasonable limitation of working hours and periodic holidays with pay.

Article 25. (1) Everyone has the right to a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of himself and of his family, including food, clothing, housing and medical care and necessary social services, and the right to security in the event of unemployment, sickness, disability, widowhood, old age or other lack of livelihood in circumstances beyond his control.

(2) Motherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance. All children, whether born in or out of wedlock, shall enjoy the same social protection.

Article 26. (1) Everyone has the right to education. Education shall be free, at least in the elementary and fundamental stages. Elementary education shall be compulsory. Technical and professional education shall be made generally available and higher education shall be equally accessible to all on the basis of merit.

(2) Education shall be directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms. It shall promote understanding, tolerance and friendship among all nations, racial or religious groups, and shall further the activities of the United Nations for the maintenance of peace.

(3) Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education that shall be given to their children.

Article 27. (1) Everyone has the right freely to participate in the cultural life of the community, to enjoy the arts and to share in scientific advancement and its benefits.

(2) Everyone has the right to the protection of the moral and material interests resulting from any scientific, literary or artistic production of which he is the author.

Article 28. Everyone is entitled to a social and international order in which the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration can be fully realized.

Article 29. (1) Everyone has duties to the community in which alone the free and full development of his personality is possible.

(2) In the exercise of his rights and freedoms, everyone shall be subject only to such limitations as are determined by law solely for the purpose of securing due recognition and respect for the rights and freedoms of others and of meeting the just requirements of morality, public order and the general welfare in a democratic society.

(3) These rights and freedoms may in no case be exercised contrary to the purposes and principles of the United Nations.

Article 30. Nothing in this Declaration may be interpreted as implying for any State, group or person any right to engage in any activity or to perform any act aimed at the destruction of any of the rights and freedoms set forth herein.

The Coming Revolution

Vimala Thakar

The principal motto of life in the West is 'Life is a struggle' and there is only a "Survival of the fittest". Earlier revolutions were centered around class conflicts. Marx and Lenin saw a vision of making a classless society which is free of exploitation of the masses. In Europe the middle class was the focal point of revolution with industries and cities at the base of it while in China Mao brought the revolution through the farmers in the villages. In the East where the life is considered multidimensional and indivisible, the wholeness of life becomes the centre of any revolutionary change rather than the compartmental approach of the West. The revolutions in the West produced industrial cultures where the life is centered around the material wealth. If we look at the most wealthy country in the world, viz. U.S., we find that the country is very poor in affection, warmth and love and U.S. is often referred to as a sick society. To work for production for the material needs of the body is one thing but that is not everything in life. It shouldn't be the only aim of life. To develop culture around sensual pleasure is a great sin. Machines can't give love and warmth. Machines make man machinistic.

Crisis of Character

To bring about any fundamental change in the society, it is so very necessary to understand the nature of the problems and their root causes. The modern civilization is not based on spirituality. Money has become the most important power base substituting our ancient values of life. Corruption is rampant and there is a crisis of character in the country. There are no religious or political leaders of national stature whom people can trust. The social fabric is disintegrating. We honour the corrupt people in the public institutions like educational and cultural functions and thus we sanction the corrupt values of the

people in power which we are at the same time trying to eradicate. Even the most religious institutions are supported by dishonest money and thus even they take part in this sanction. It is a national phase of degradation of moral values. Therefore, those who care for their values and who are proud to be human beings should speak out, as this is their best chance.

After 33 years of independence and democratic way of lifestyle, we have failed to create a 'People' in our society. 'People' should be such that they are aware of both their rights and responsibilities. We are going downhill as a race. Therefore, there is dire need to bring about a fundamental change in the human consciousness. This cannot be done by the government. It can be done by the people only. And those whose lives have changed have to come out and lead.

Today's economic policies are wasteful and useless. They sharpen the line of demarcation between the rich and the poor. By rushing towards the path of rapid industrialization we are losing faith in ourselves and between our fellow beings. The greed for money and power is turning man away from man. We look for warmth in the comforts of machines. But this is a great illusion which in the end only brings more suffering.

We have become cowards due to the long period of slavery. We did what we were told and always hesitated in taking responsibilities. Thus today we are even afraid to speak out when injustice is done to ourselves. We need to create people's councils to attend to incidents of injustice in our towns and villages. We need to create civil security forces to protect ourselves from gangsters and other criminal elements of the society. We have to create an atmosphere of fearlessness so that we can freely vote for the candidates we choose to.

Future Revolution

Man is potentially Divine and Spirituality is a Science. It will become necessary to see life from the angle of Spirituality. The new revolution will have a blend of Science and Spirituality. The base of life will be Spirituality and its expressions will be aided by our knowledge of science and technology. Science has broken the boundaries of the world. The world is woven together today. Today's issues and

problems should be looked upon in reference to the whole world. The events in the world move at a lightning speed. Therefore, a new and true revolution will spread across the boundaries of lands very quickly.

The villages will become centres of new revolutions. The roots of our current problems lie in the unfair treatment of the common man by the society. Our responsibility to the common man must be realized. Family units and not the individuals should become the vehicles of the new revolution. The people of the villages possess organic intelligence. We will use this untapped energy to awaken the masses and the young people, which will lead our country back to the path of spirituality, equality and prosperity evenly shared. The new social servants will be Jeevan Sadhaks. We need to establish Gramswaraj Research Centers. These Centers should be self-sufficient and not be dependent on money like all modern institutions are. Time and energy of the people should be the source of their basic strength. This is how we will learn to live in love with one another.

And finally, the fundamental principles of the new revolution will be "Faith in Life, Trust in Man, Worship, Freedom and Restraint in Human Relationships".

In this era of world wars, in this automic age, values have changed. We have learned that we are the guests of existence, travellers between two stations. We must discover security within ourselves. During our short span of life we must find our own insights into our relationship with the existence in which we participate so briefly. Otherwise, we cannot live! This means, as I see it, a departure from the materialistic view of the nineteenth century. It means a reawakening of the spiritual world, of our inner life, of religion. I don't means religion as a dogma or as a church, but as a vital feeling.

—Boris Pasternak

Maharajas in our Democracy

B. M. Sinha

Mahatma Gandhi, who had set an example in simple and unostentatious living had hoped that when India became independent the ministers would follow his austere life style and live within Rs. 500 a month. Instead, all ministers live on Rs. 40,000 a month, though they continue to mouth Gandhian slogans ad nauseum. Had the Mahatma been alive today, he would be shocked to know that one single Central Minister costs the nation about Rs. 5 lakhs a year.

Enraged by the lavish living of the ministers, a Swatantra Party MP, Mr. M. N. Dandekar, computed the maintenance cost of a Central Minister. He ensured that his figures were indisputable. According to him, a Central Minister drew about Rs. 37,500 a month or Rs. 4.48 lakhs a year. That was ten years ago.

Some MPs like Mr. Jyotirmoy Basu, who try to update their information, believe that taking into consideration the price rise and fall in the rupee value the monthly cost of maintaining a Central Minister computed by Mr. Dandekar can easily be raised to Rs. 40,000. Similarly the yearly cost of providing the minister with a posh bungalow, a host of attendants and a fleet of cars, besides other perks and allowances, should go up at least by another Rs. 50,000.

It is an indication of how the finances of the country are controlled and managed that no one in any ministry of the Central Government knows how much a minister really costs the nation today. This correspondent met a number of officials, read several reports and took help of some economists to find out the exact figure but it was all in vain. The Finance Ministry officials consider the information so sacrosanct that they don't want to discuss it with anyone, much less with a journalist. They admit that no official computation of the cost has ever been made.

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“And since no Member of Parliament has ever asked a question about it, why should we bother our heads about it?” commented one official.

Some of those who have worked with Central Ministers as their private secretaries or assistants, and who should know how a minister lives and functions, say that if the favours and gifts a minister collects from various sources—particularly business houses and tycoons—are also calculated, the amount that he costs every month would reach a ‘staggering figure’ that even a medieval king would not have dreamt of. Not many know about the comforts that a minister and the member of his family enjoy whenever they visit a city or town. This is besides the tons of money that pour into coffers of a minister for offering concessions, preventing action against illegal work, and loot of national wealth through work on projects like Asiad 1982.

The lifestyle of one who is appointed a Central Minister undergoes a rapid change. His personality is transformed overnight—he becomes elegant, pompous and haughty. Beautiful emerald rings decorate his fingers and he exudes an artificial fragrance which seeks to hide a stench that would otherwise be overwhelming. One present Central Minister, who usually wore Khadi Kurta and Pyjama and travelled by three-wheelers when he was a Congress (I) MP during the Janata Party regime today wears a spotless white terrycot suit and moves about in an imported car. Posters appeared on the walls of Delhi recently with stories about his involvement with a glamorous woman journalist.

Under the Salaries and Allowance of Ministers Act, a Central Minister is entitled to Rs. 2,500 a month. He gets a rent-free and furnished bungalow in Delhi which covers the staff quarters and other buildings and gardens. He is not responsible for the maintenance of the house which is done by the CPWD. All electric, water and telephone bills are paid by the Government. He gets about Rs. 40,000 when he is allotted a bungalow so that he may have it furnished the way he wants. He is also entitled to a sumptuary allowance of Rs. 500 a month; he gets travelling allowance for himself and his family when journeying from his home town to Delhi and back. He is given a fabulous travelling allowance while on official duty to any part of the country. He and his family get free medical treatment. On the face of it, the official salary and perks offered to a Central Minister would appear to be modest, but as Mr. Dandekar had proved, the reality is very different.

It is difficult to find out how many persons constitute a minister's official or personal staff. The strength of the staff differs from minister to minister. The Union Home Minister is believed to have the largest staff, followed by the Union Finance Minister. A Central Minister is often provided with one special assistant of IAS rank, three to four personal secretaries, two or three additional personal secretaries and two to three personal assistants. This is besides a host of peons at the office and the residence. Those who maintain his bungalow and spacious lawns-cum-gardens number about a dozen.

It has been observed in recent years that a political leader would like to become a Chief Minister of a State instead of a Central Minister. The reason is simple: so long as he enjoys the trust and confidence of the party high command, he is virtually a maharaja of the State living in whatever style he fancies and conducting himself in whatever manner he likes. There is no one to check him so long as he keeps his mentors in Delhi happy. The example of the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Mr. A. R. Antulay, or Mr. J. N. Mishra, Chief Minister of Bihar, is quoted in support of this point.

Always acting with a touch of flamboyance, Mr. Antulay is believed to have the largest battalion of personal staff for any Chief Minister in the country. He has a team of about 150 officers working hard for him all 24 hours; they do their best to build his image in the eyes of the people. Not a day passes when he is not prominently projected on TV or AIR. Most ministers in his Government follow his lifestyle and have their bungalows in the poshest area of Bombay—Malabar Hill.

Vying with Mr. Antulay is the Chief Minister of UP, Mr. V. P. Singh. He too left Parliament like Mr. Antulay to become a Chief Minister. His personal staff is much bigger than that for Mr. H. N. Bahuguna or Mr. N. D. Tewari when they were Chief Ministers. Two senior IAS officers serve him as his secretaries. He also has five deputy secretaries two of whom are from the IAS cadre. Three information officers work overtime to sell his image to the media. There is no knowing about the number of personal secretaries, assistant secretaries, typists and stenographers that work for him besides a host of plain clothes men who ensure his security and safety. Mr. Singh has seven State planes and helicopters at his disposal. A discretionary fund of Rs. 10 lakhs is also there for him to handle, the way he wants. The spacious guest

house at Kalidasa Marg, Any Lucknow was converted into his residence in June last year. But a few months later the house was found astrologically unsuitable for him. He then shifted to a private bungalow at 9, Mall Avenue which had to be renovated and furnished at the cost of Rs. 10 lakhs.

Criticism of an Antulay or a Singh for living in grand style pales into insignificance when one looks at the style in which the leaders of the proletariat class live in Kerala. Their style should put to shame even a bourgeois style of living. The ministers of Kerala move about in sleek cars fitted with plush seats, fans and stereo system. Twin Bosch horns are used by them to clear the road for gliding down in their cars at 80 kmph speed within the city itself. It is learnt that a new car allotted to a minister is passed on to a bureaucrat after it has run about 50,000 kms. A fleet of cars with a horde of police and other officials follows a minister when he goes out of the Capital on an official visit.

The bungalow of a Kerala minister does not conform to the philosophy of spartan life that his party preaches to the poor and down-trodden of the State. The bungalow is no less conspicuous than that of a Central Minister in Delhi. A recent newspaper report says that the ministerial bungalows in Trivandrum have 'imperial flavour' consisting of chandeliers, expensive carpets, teak furnishings and expensive paintings. These bungalows were at one time or another the residences of senior British officials.

A Kerala minister is officially shown to draw Rs. 350 a month for petrol for his car but in actual practice the expenditure on petrol consumed by his car is at least three times the amount. When he goes outside his State, he gets Rs. 55 a day as an allowance, no matter if he is using the facilities of his State for stay or travel.

That India has not still developed its own administrative ethos which conforms to its national tradition and character, but continues to perpetuate the costly, pompous and royal trappings of the British rule are proved amply by visiting a Raj Bhavan and going round it. The name that continues to be retained for the residences of State Governors not only runs counter to the spirit of democratic rule that is claimed to have been established with a socialist constitution in 1950 but also keeps unbridged the wide gap between the ruler and the ruled

that existed during the British days. One who has seen the British Governors ruling over India from these Raj Bhavans does not find any difference in the manner and style in which today's Rajyapals (Governors) operate. The Raj Bhavans are free of cost for the Governor as are a fleet of cars, an army of flunkies, ADCs, about a dozen police officials and armed guards placed at his disposal. It is believed that it costs the National Exchequer over a million of rupees a year to maintain a governor in regal style and splendour. Even well-known disciples of Mahatma Gandhi like Mr. Mohan Lal Sukhadia, do not hesitate to enjoy this style.

A governor gets an imported car to travel all over his state during official or non-official visits. A red light flashes over the hood of his car, a siren screams as the car moves through crowded areas and a pilot races on his motor-bike ahead of the car. These remind old people, who stop and watch, of the days of the 'Burra Sahibs' during the British regime.

A modest salary of Rs. 5,000 a month has been provided for a Governor by the Constitution. There is no idea about the perquisites he gets at the cost of the common people who pay for them through heavy taxes. The comforts and luxuries for a Governor differ from State to State and from person to person. If a Governor has the right connections with the Centre and is close to the Prime Minister his perquisites are unlimited. Whatever expenditure is incurred on meeting the Staff salaries, on staff quarters, residences for officers working for a Governor, railway saloons, river craft and aircraft, and gardens, is covered by the Governors' Allowances and Privileges Order originally issued for the Governor General in 1950 and since amended several times but without ever curtailing the expenditure.

Among the privileges enjoyed by a Governor and his family is exemption from payment of any duty on imported articles for his personal use, wear or consumption. No duty is charged on the food, drink or tobacco which his household consumes or offers guests. There is no charge for the articles needed to furnish a Governor's house. He enjoys these privileges apart from a huge sum of money, ranging between Rs. 70,000 and Rs. 150,000, that is placed at his disposal for any renewal or modification inside the Raj Bhavans. He also gets huge grants up to Rs. 5 lakhs to ensure that his lifestyle does not deteriorate. The more important a Governor, the higher is this

grant for him. A large portion of this goes towards entertaining his guests.

The most glaring example to show that we have not been able to shake off the British habit of ostentation is the fact that President Sanjiva Reddy continues to live in Rashtrapati Bhavan despite his repeated statements that he prefers a more modest house. Soon after he was elected President a search was made for a smaller house for him but it was not available because he can stay only at a place where full and proper security arrangements for him can be made. Mr. Reddy continues to stay in the erstwhile Viceregal Lodge which was built about 65 years ago at a cost of Rs. 17 million. Today it is worth 20 times as much.

The Rashtrapati Bhavan consists of 340 rooms, 74 lobbies and loggias, and one and a half miles of corridor, 18 staircases and 27 fountains. The entire building covers two hectares of land surrounded by a vast expanse of gardens measuring about 133 hectares. The house is beautifully located in the midst of fabulous Mughal Gardens with canals and islands. The President does not have to pay a single paisa as rent for the house whose maintenance should cost today, according to an unofficial estimate, at least Rs. 9 million a year.

There are three other palatial houses which have been reserved for the President—two in Simla and one in Hyderabad. The Rashtrapati Niwas in Simla with 360 rooms was built in the English Renaissance style with light blue limestone. It covers 33 acres of land. It has 26 houses in the compound for the President's staff which once numbered about 800. The oldest and smallest house for the President is located at Mashobra, about seven miles from Simla. Called the Retreat, it was built in 1940. Following the desire of the first President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad, that he should be in touch with the people in the South, a permanent residence was set up in Hyderabad. It is called Rashtrapati Nilayam and is built over 80 acres of land. The President normally spends 6 to 7 weeks every year in this place.

This story will not be complete without giving two examples of how the State Ministers also misuse their power and position. It was in the third week of May this year. The small town of Adampur in Haryana witnessed the marriages of two daughters and one son of a

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Mr. Pokhar Mal, until recently a business partner of the Haryana Chief Minister, Mr. Bhajan Lal. Some of those who attended the marriages on May 17 and 18 say they had never seen such pomp and pageantry at a social function.

The Chief Minister not only attended the marriages but did what a king should do : he gifted at least three lakh rupees in cash and 33 toals in gold to the newly weds. A number of wealthy guests also made costly gifts knowing full well that this would please not only Mr. Mal but the Chief Minister also.

It is believed that about 10,000 guests had come to bless the married couples and about 25 per cent of them had stayed on for two days at Mr. Pokhar Mal's 'kothi'.

The entire town was decked with buntings and flowers. Almost every house white-washed and tastefully decorated. Since the CM was going to be in the town for some hours, a large number of government officers too were present there, abandoning their work. Dozens of Government vehicles were requisitioned from all over the State for the use of the guests. The glamour and splendour that attended the visit of the CM had irked some of the Congress (I) leaders also. Led by Mr. Shiv Kumar Bhola, a Youth Congress (I) leader, they met the Prime Minister in Delhi and asked her to order an inquiry into the use of government machinery for the marriage ceremony.

The second case was from Bhopal in Madhya Pradesh. In July, 1978, the State had a Janata party leader, Mr. Yashwant Rao Meghale, as the Forest Minister. He planned to marry off his daughter in a manner that would make any royal marriage look insignificant. Officers of the forest department were summoned from all over the State and asked to prepare the city of Bhopal to receive the bridegroom and party. Hundreds of government vehicles raced around the city with government officers doing the job of errand boys. Wealthy businessmen, were specially invited to ensure precious gifts from them.

Several thousand guests were invited. To provide them with accommodation several local colleges enjoyed a special holiday. One estimate puts the number of guests at 5,000.

Most gifts, according to press reports, were in gold. The rush for ornaments was so heavy that the goldsmiths had no stocks left. At least 2,000 guests were treated to sumptuous dinners and lunches for two days.

Union Minister, Mr. P.C. Sethi, has often been criticised for using a plane as though it was a three-wheeler. In August 1980, a Viking plane took off from Jaipur carrying him to Bhopal. When it was only half way he asked the pilot to turn back to Jaipur. The reason? He had forgotten to pick up his shirts from the guest house where he was staying! Mr. Sethi, however, denies this. But what he cannot deny is the information disclosed in the Assembly by the Chief Minister of Madhya Pradesh, Mr. Arjun Singh, in the same month : Mr. Sethi had made 130 trips by the State planes and helicopters in 84 days. On March 21, 1980 alone he had made 11 trips. Between March 7 and May 29, he was air borne most of the time !

Mr. Sethi, it would seem, wants to establish his majesty rather noisily. During a visit to Madras in February, 1981, he insisted on a pilot jeep, fitted with a howler, to precede his official car. Asked why he wanted this facility, he is reported to have said that the pilot jeep would announce that he was around and it would add to his status. Wherever he went in Madras during this visit he was escorted by a truck-full of special armed men.

—Grateful acknowledgments : Imprint, December, 1981

Democracy is to be valued because it prevents large scale atrocities. When a group of men has power over another group, it will almost always illtreat the subject group. White men have illtreated negroes, aristocrats have illtreated peasants, men have illtreated women.

—Bertrand Russell

Non Party Constructive Workers Convention

NEWS LETTER

SCHOOL OF APPLIED RESEARCH, SANGLI—(Maharashtra)

School of Applied Research (SAR) was established in June 1978 to consider and try in the direction of techno-economic development of rural masses. SAR is a trust, a voluntary body supported by about 25 enthusiastic engineers who would like to contribute their mite towards rural development. SAR believes that spread of science and technology amongst the rural masses would bring in an awareness which will help break the social barriers, and fetch economic gains.

The inculcation of spirit of science and technology amongst rural masses can be brought about by means such as :

- (i) introduction of gadgets based on appropriate technology to lessen hardship of people;
- (ii) to start and encourage industries on available agricultural and other natural resources with local labour and skills; and
- (iii) to conduct training courses for farm workers and artisans in maintenance of machinery and to update the conventional skills.

The progress so far made in this direction has been very slow. But SAR has made a good beginning. Since its inception in 1978 SAR has undertaken projects which could prove useful to the rural areas.

For example conventional bullock cart has been modified so that it carries double the load with the same bullock effort while retaining its conventional appearance. This has won acclaim in international forums. Other products which could prove quite useful in rural areas are:—

- (i) Mini Milk Chilling Plant in milk producing talukas;
- (ii) Compaction machines for agricultural wastes which could be recycled to be used as a fuel and at the same time deal with problem of waste-disposal.

Another Research Project undertaken by SAR has resulted in development of a range of new triple action safe drinking water filters. The principles of filtration and chlorination used in these filters are designed to ensure adequate chlorine and alum dosing to the water. The device known as SAR SUJAL FILTERS ensures safe drinking water and safeguards against contamination. The immense importance of these filters can be better appreciated in the light of the following facts :—

- (i) Eighty percent of all diseases are caused by contaminated water;
- (ii) Cholera, typhoid, para-typhoid, jaundice, dysentery and gastro-enteritis, etc. are water-borne diseases;
- (iii) More than 40% of child and/or infant mortality in India is due to impure contaminated water.

The filters available are in a wide range of capacities and can be used in diverse places such as houses, trains, buses, theatres, hotels, restaurants, hospitals, dispensaries, factories, offices, villages, colonies, and other places of human habitation or use.

The love of liberty is the love of others; the love of power is the love of ourselves.

—William Hazlitt

Vimala Thakar's Publications

Since 1962 Vimalaji has travelled overseas a number of times giving Talks and holding Meditation Camps. As a result of these Talks many books were published in Holland, many of which have not been available for the Indian Reader. Fortunately for us we have recently received a consignment of books from Holland and those books published in the West are now available for the Indian Reader and Enquirer. A short summary of the contents of the books available is given below—

From Intellect to Intelligence

“...Man has studied his biological structure but not enough of his psychology...Occidental experts have divided the psyche into the conscious the unconscious and the subconscious...but there is a fourth dimension of non cerebral energy (which is accepted now by the psychologists)

“...And why seek this fourth dimension?...In the fourth dimensional state he is freed from these tensions...

“...But when you sit in silence, silence unites. One of the most important facts of silence is that one discovers the chattering that goes on and on in the mind...that discovery is necessary...

“...Before that encounter with your own mind you will not come face to face with the content of the sub-conscious and unconscious, the neurotic discrepancies, deficiencies, distortions in our ways of behaviour and that has to be done.”

Price : Rs. 25/-

The Urgency of Self-Discovery

"Man has become used to living absent-mindedly, distractedly, half-heartedly, in a dull mediocre way, that he does not feel disturbed. We hardly ever live in the state of relaxation.

"The first thing is to learn to be with oneself, not because one is depressed or one wants to chew back into memory, not that way, but only for the fun of being with oneself, in a relaxed way.

"One has to learn to observe; that is to say to look at things, to look at oneself, to look at thoughts, at feelings; not to analyse, to interpret, to change, to suppress, not to do anything with them. Learn to look at it, a simple perception.

"In the relaxation of the past, in the relaxation of the knowledge and experience, the sensitivity, the intelligence of the whole being, begins to move. Intelligence is the sensitivity of the whole being."

Price : Rs. 15/-

The Mystery of Silence

"The movement of the 'I' consciousness with all its knowledge its content and experience is absolutely meaningless and irrelevant when it comes to understanding the mystery of life.

"For Silence to 'be' one has to understand, the mechanism of the mind and its incessant ingoing and outgoing movement.

"One may sit down in a corner, close one's eyes, it does not mean that one is sitting in Silence. You still carry the tension of acquiring something, you are looking forward, you are still with the sense of time.

"...Without any tension of expectation, of waiting for new acquisition or experiencing, there is this indescribable soothing and pacifying relaxation. So completely that the awareness that you are relaxing also disappear."

Price : Rs. 13/-

Beyond Awareness

"...So, one learns to relax. It is only in the relaxation of the conditioned and inhibited or cultured part, that the non conditional, the non personal can begin to operate, can begin to function. The relaxation of the conditioned cannot make that function, but open the field for the non conditioned to operate. Meditation is the operation of that non personal, non conditional intelligence".

"...The mind has not been and has never been put into abeyance through the will.

"...Let the mental activity go into abeyance completely unconditionally and see what happens.

"...Man who is tired and worn out with the content of the so called cultures and civilizations the world over, man who is worn out with mental activity, cerebral activity and yet cannot escape the use of the brain, is looking for a solution, a way out.

"...You transcend something that is within you and you find yourself beyond all the conditionings and frontiers in the space of silence....."

Price : Rs. 10/-

Nijmegen University Lectures

1. October 1970

2. November 1972

Questions Discussed :

1. How can we really come to the silence of mind and live further ? What do you mean by new dimension ?
2. Is meditation only possible for a certain kind of people who are privileged ? Do you think everybody has the chance to do what you call ideal ?
3. How can people who live in quite other circumstances, who have to work between much noise, how can they know the joy of silence, the light of silence ?

(Contd. on page 30)

Readers Write

New Delhi
December 7, 1981

Dear Shri Sevakramji

Re : Electoral Reform

I appreciate the campaign launched by the Lok Sevak Sangh in this behalf and also other matters of public importance.

I have only two suggestions to make :

- (1) No political party, all-India or regional, should be recognised for purposes of elections to Parliament or State Legislatures, unless it is a registered body under the law with a Constitution regarding membership, procedures for transacting business and keeping accounts and use of funds.
- (2) The State shall undertake the financing of elections, to the Parliament and State Legislatures.

The (1)st, if it comes into operation, obviates the necessity of inspecting only the accounts but makes it necessary for all political parties to follow normal democratic methods in organising and running a Party. Since a registered body has to keep its books open, it is not necessary to ask only for accounts. Money power would be automatically curbed.

The (2)nd, if it is accepted, it would no doubt, involve a lot of expenditure by the State, but it is worth-while, taking into consideration the benefit to democratic functioning.

Today's democracy is not only a farce but a fraud on the people of India.

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My suggestions are not fanciful as they are operative in GDR. That country arrived at it after the experiences we are going through. I tried to get the details but I could not. The GDR Embassy here may be able to help you.

I have made these suggestions in the Acharya Kula Sammelan held at Sevagram in April last year and also at Pattikalyana meeting held under the auspices of four constructive work organisations.

Ever in service,

Yours sincerely

R.R. Diwakar

R.L. PANJWANI
Advocate Supreme Court of India

Supreme Court of India
Tilak Marg,
New Delhi
19th Oct. 1981.

Dear Vimala Thakar,

While going through Awakening issue for 8th Sept. 1981 I happened to go through your article "INDIA MUST BE SAVED". I really relished your view about 'United Peoples' Organisation'. I fully agree that such sort of Organisation is a must to avoid destruction through nuclear weapons. I also fully agree that people throughout the world do not want war but it is the ambitious and vested interest politicians, economists and business community who may desire war to meet their selfish ends.

But now the question arises what part can be played by us to create such important organisation. We feel the pinch and necessity of certain things but yet we do not achieve. It may be because we do not put in our sincere efforts to achieve the end.

But before we talk of United Peoples' Organisation of the world would it not be proper on our part to make a United Peoples' Organisation in our country at the initial stage to make our people capable to express their views without any fear.

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Any how the idea of United Peoples Organisation is a Must and we must put in our sincere efforts to achieve the same also although there are many other equally and more important issues to be taken up in order to awaken the people and get them some relief.

However it would be very laudable and worth appreciating if you make a start in that direction and my full co-operation shall be with you.

Yours sincerely,

R. L. Panjwani

(Contd. from page 27)

"...In whichever direction the mind moves it is a partial activity. It divides life outside the skin and the intelligence inside the skin. The mind, the conditioned mind therefore cannot be the instrument for finding out what is beyond all the conditionings, all the frontiers of mind and brain. That mind has to be let alone..."

*Price : Rs. 10/-
2nd Nijmegen Univ. Lect. 13/-*

Mutation of Mind

An astoundingly clear analysis of the human mind as well as the mechanistic nature of total mentation is stated in this book.

Price : Rs. 15/-

Towards Total Transformation

Talks at International Student Center

Price : Rs. 5/-

For Further Particulars

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Jeevan Yoga Foundation, Shiv Kut, Mount Abu, Rajasthan
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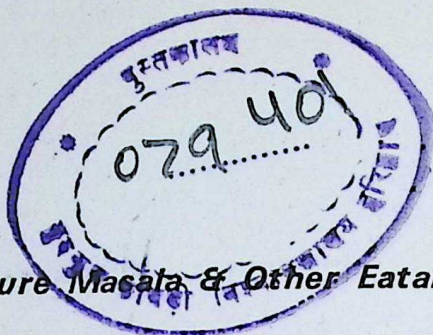
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TAKING TIME TO LIVE

To get the most out of life we must take time to live as well as to make a living. We must practice the art of filling our moments with enriching experiences that will give new meaning and depth to our lives.

We should take time for good books; time to absorb the thoughts of poets and philosophers, seers and prophets.

Time for music that washes away from the soul the dust of every-day life.

Time for friendships; time for talks by the fire and walks beneath the stars.

Time for children that we may find again the Kingdom of Heaven within our hearts.

Time for laughter; time for letting go and filling the heart with mirth.

Time for travel; time for pilgrimage and festival, for shrine and exhibit, for rockbound coast and desert, mountain and plain.

Time for nature; time for flower gardens, trees, birds and sunsets.

Time to love and be loved, for love is the greatest thing in the world.

Time for people; time for the interplay for personalities and the interchange of ideas.

Time for solitude; time to be quiet and alone and to look within.

Time to give of ourselves, our talents, abilities, devotion, convictions, that we may contribute to the onward march of man.

Time for worship; time for opening our lives to God's infinite springs of vitality, that we may live more abundantly.

In all ways let us make our moments glow with life. Let us pray as did Matthew Arnold : "Calm, calm me more, nor let me die, before I have begun to live."

—Wilferd A. Peterson

The AWAKENING

029401

The soul of Jesus is restless today;
Christ is tramping through the spirit-world
Compassion in his heart for the fainting millions;
He trudges through China, through Poland,
Through Russia, Austria, Germany, Armenia;
Patiently he pleads with the Church,
Tenderly he woos her.
The wounds of his body are bleeding afresh for the
sorrows of his shepherdless people.
We weary him with selfish petitions,
We besiege him with our petty ambitions,
From the needy we bury him in piles of carven stone,
We obscure him in the smoke of stuffy incense,
We drown his voice with the snarls and shrieks of our
disgruntled bickerings,
We build temples to him with hands that are bloody,
We deny him in the needs and sorrows of the
exploited "least of his brethren".
The soul of Jesus is restless today
But eternally undismayed.

—Cyrus R. Mitchell

Comaired
1959-2000

